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Papers

of the

American Society of Church History

Second Series

Volume VI.

Edited by

Frederick William Loetscher

Secretary

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ACT OF INCORPORATION

LAWS OF NEW YORK

Chap. 82

AN ACT to incorporate The American Society of Church History, Incorporated.

Became a law March 30, 1916, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, William Walker Rockwell, Henry James Weber, Robert Hastings Nichols, Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, junior, James Isaac Good, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, Frederick William Loetscher, James Coffin Stout, Austin B. Keep, William A. Schwarze, and George Edwin Horr and their successors in office chosen from time to time are hereby incorporated and are declared to be a body corporate of the state of New York by the name of The American Society of Church History, Incorporated, and by such name shall be known and shall have perpetual succession with the powers, limitations and restrictions herein contained.

Section 2. The objects of the corporation shall be to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of church history; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to church history or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes;

to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal estate so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

Section 3. The corporation hereby created shall have all the powers and be subject to all the restrictions which now or hereafter may pertain by law to membership corporations in so far as the same are applicable to and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

Section 4. The acts done by the above named persons on the twenty-seventh day of December, nineteen hundred and fifteen, in adopting by-laws, electing officers and passing resolutions so far as they are consistent with this act are hereby ratified and declared to be valid.

Section 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

CONSTITUTION[1]

ARTICLE I

NAME

Section 1. This corporation shall be known as the AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

Section 1. The particular objects for which the corporation is to be formed are: to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of Church History; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish, and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to Church History or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes; to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal property so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERS

Section 1. The members of each class shall have equal rights and privileges in the corporation.

[1] Approved by the Council, May 15, 1915, and adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

Section 2. Candidates for membership shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Council. On receipt of an application for membership with proposer and seconder, the Secretary shall send the name of such candidate to each member of the Council and on receipt of letters of approval of such candidate from a majority of the members of the Council, such candidate shall, upon payment of dues for one year,[1] become and be entitled to all the rights and privileges of members of the corporation.

Section 3. All persons interested in Church History shall be eligible to membership.

ARTICLE IV

MANAGEMENT

Section 1. The management of the corporation shall be in the board of directors, which shall be called the Council and which shall consist of the officers enumerated in Article "V" hereof, the ex-Presidents, and two other members to be elected annually. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall exceed the number of directors permitted by the Charter, then the ex-President who has been longest out of office shall cease automatically to be a member of the Council; and if the number still remaining be greater than permitted, the next ex-President who has been longest out of office shall automatically cease to be a member of the Council. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled by the members thereof until the next annual meeting. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall be less than the total number required by the Charter, then the number of members elected to the Council at the annual meeting shall be increased so as to make the membership of the Council correspond with the requirements of the Charter.

Section 2. The Council shall have power to suspend or expel members of the corporation for cause and to restore them to

[1] The words, "upon payment of dues for one year," were added to this Section by an amendment adopted by the Society, December 27, 1920.

membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given opportunity to be heard; but the Council shall strike from the roll of membership the name of any member who has failed to pay dues for three years, and thereafter such person shall cease to be a member of the corporation.[1]

Section 3. The property of the corporation shall be vested in, and the affairs of the corporation conducted by, the Council.

Section 4. The Council shall have no power to bind the corporation to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the corporation, except by the consent of every member of the Council expressed in writing.

Section 5. The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the corporation including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, the arrangement of programs, the determination of papers to be published and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the corporation shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by ballot for the term of one year at the annual meeting of the members. No President shall be elected to succeed himself. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the incorporators to act until the first annual meeting of the members.

Section 2. Vacancies in any office may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

FEES AND DUES

Section 1. The annual dues for active members shall be Three Dollars; for sustaining members Ten Dollars. On pay-

[1] This Section of Article IV was amended by the Society, December 27, 1920, the amendment consisting in the removal, in the last sentence, of the period after the word "heard" and the addition of the clause now added after that word.

ment of One Hundred Dollars at any one time, any individual member, not a library, may become a life member exempt from dues.

ARTICLE VII

MEETINGS

Section 1. The annual meeting of the members of the corporation shall be held on the last Monday of December of each year. Notice thereof shall be sent by mail to each member at least two weeks prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the Council.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by the corporation, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

ARTICLE VIII

SEAL

Section 1. The seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation in Latin, with the date of its foundation, together with an emblematic lamp, and the motto *Christiani nihil a me alienum puto.*

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present at any legally constituted annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendments shall be given in writing at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

BY-LAWS[1]

ARTICLE I

MEMBERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. One copy of each of the publications which are issued after his election shall be sent to each member, who has paid dues at least once and is not in arrears for more than two years; but libraries shall be expected to pay dues only for those years in which the corporation publishes a volume.

ARTICLE II

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. The Council may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, but no such rules shall be inconsistent with the By-Laws and Constitution of the corporation. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Council shall hold at least one meeting in each year, when it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership, and shall transact such other business as may legally come before it.

Section 3. The Council shall, at each annual meeting of the corporation, render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

ARTICLE III

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary President from the members present.

Section 2. The Secretary shall notify the members, at least two weeks in advance of each meeting; keep the minutes, and

[1] Adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council. The Secretary may also enroll the name of any library as a member on payment of its dues.

Section 3. The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all members, take charge of the funds of the Society and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

ARTICLE IV

PROCEDURE

Section 1. The order of business at any annual meeting shall, except when otherwise ordered, be the following:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual and of any special meeting.

Annual report of the Council.

Reports of officers and annual reports of committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business, including the reading of the Presidential Address and other papers.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at annual and special meetings of the corporation and of the annual meetings, where not otherwise provided for in the By-Laws, shall be governed by "Roberts Rules of Order."

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended at any duly constituted meeting of the corporation by a two-thirds vote of the members present.

THE JOINT SESSION AT PHILADELPHIA OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, 1917

THE American Society of Church History held a joint session with the American Historical Association at Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., on Friday, December 28, 1917.

The Chairman of the joint session, David Schley Schaff, President of the American Society of Church History, called the meeting to order at 10.15 A.M. He then read the Presidential Address of the American Society of Church History, *The Council of Constance: Its Fame and Its Failure.*

Professor Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, then read on *The Church Councils of the Anglo-Saxons.*

The Secretary of the American Society of Church History then made a statement concerning the aims of the Society, and of its sincere desire to coöperate with the larger and more inclusive body, the American Historical Association.

There followed a paper by Dr. Harold J. Laski of Harvard University, on *The Conciliar Movement.*

The last paper of the morning, by Dr. Preserved Smith of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., was on *The Actual Achievements of the Reformation.*

On behalf of the University of Pennsylvania there was extended to the members of the American Society of Church History an invitation to be present at a luncheon tendered by the University to members of all Associations then meet-

ing in Philadelphia. The room, seating about one hundred, was constantly filled, and the discussion of papers was vigorously carried on for twenty-five minutes. Among the speakers were Professor Ian C. Hannah of Oberlin University; Professor Carl A. Becker of the University of Kansas; Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College; Dr. Preserved Smith of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Professor James Isaac Good of the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio.

Among the members of the American Society of Church History present were: J. C. Ayer, Jr., J. A. Faulkner, H. D. Foster, J. I. Good, I. C. Hannah, G. E. Horr, E. P. Johnson, F. W. Loetscher, T. J. Porter, Preserved Smith, D. S. Schaff, and the Secretary.

Among the members of the American Historical Association present, the Secretary noted the following: C. A. Becker, S. B. Fay, W. E. Griffis, C. S. Hazen, P. J. Healy, W. E. Lingelbach, S. C. Monro, D. S. Muzzey, Chalfant Robinson, J. S. Schapiro, R. L. Schuyler, James Sullivan, and J. M. Vincent.

At 12.30 P.M. the session adjourned in ample time for all members of the American Society of Church History present to proceed to the luncheon which was held in the University Gymnasium.

Respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 28, 1917

IN obedience to a call duly issued by the President, through the Secretary, the Council of the American Society of Church History convened at Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., at 10.15 A.M. on Friday, December 28, 1917.

President Schaff called the meeting to order. Present: Messrs. Schaff, Ayer, Faulkner, Good, Horr, E. P. Johnson, Loetscher, and the Secretary. On motion of Mr. Loetscher, seconded by Mr. E. P. Johnson, the Council adjourned to meet at the close of the public joint session with the American Historical Association.

At 12.43 P.M. President Schaff called the Council together at the above-mentioned place. On motion of the Secretary seconded by F. W. Loetscher, the following candidates were elected to membership in the Society: Rev. Charles Tupper Baillie, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Rev. Ralph Brouwer Pomeroy, General Theological Seminary, New York City; Rev. Professor Henry Elias Dosker, Louisville Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. (reëlected); Rev. F. M. C. Bedell, Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, Shamokin, Pa.; Miss Louise Hortense Snowden, Instructor in Mediæval History, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.; Rev. Patrick J. Healy, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. John A. Carr, Rector of St. James' Church, Bristol, Pa.; Bishop Thomas D. Neely, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 4513 Chester

Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Theodore C. Decker, 7301 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.[1]

The resignation of Frederick Wolcott Jackson was accepted with regret.

In exercise of its constitutional function as Nominating Committee, the Council adopted the following nominations of officers for 1918:

President: Henry Bradford Washburn.
Vice-President: Robert Hastings Nichols.
Secretary: Frederick William Loetscher.
Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

Former Presidents:

Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs, Francis Albert Christie,* Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.,* James Isaac Good,* John Alfred Faulkner,* Edward Payson Johnson,* David Schley Schaff.*

* Member of the Council in 1918.

Elected Members of the Council:

George Edwin Horr, James Coffin Stout, William Nathaniel Schwarze, Shirley Jackson Case, and William Walker Rockwell.

The Council adjourned at 12.55 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

[1] The last five names on this list had not been submitted by letter to all the members of the Council. In the opinion of Mr. Carmody, who framed our Constitution, Article III., Section 2, provides two methods for the election of members: (1) nomination and election at a regularly constituted meeting of the Council; (2) nomination of new members submitted by the Secretary in writing to each member of the Council, followed by letters of approval of the candidates from the majority of the members of the Council. Candidates approved by the second method at once become and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of members of the Corporation, but do not receive actual membership until their names have been formally approved at a regularly called meeting of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING AT NEW YORK CITY, 1917

THE American Society of Church History held its eleventh annual and twelfth public meeting in New York City on Monday, December 31, 1917. The occasion was also the second annual meeting of the American Society of Church History, Incorporated.

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 A.M. by President David Schley Schaff in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City. Dr. Schaff opened the session with prayer.

The Secretary read the report of the annual meeting of 1916, as printed in the fifth volume of the second series of the *Papers*, just off the press. It was regularly moved, seconded, and voted that the evening session be given up, provided Dr. Sweet agrees to this change in the program; and that his paper should be read in the afternoon at the close of the business meeting.

The first paper of the morning on *Early Christian Prophets and Prophecy* by Edwin Knox Mitchell of Hartford Theological Seminary, was read in the absence of the author by Henry Bradford Washburn. It was discussed by Messrs. Horr, Corwin, and Washburn.

It was decided to postpone hearing a paper by William Alva Gifford of the Wesleyan Theological Seminary, Montreal, pending the arrival of the manuscript delayed in the mails. The title was *Wyclif's Contribution to the Independence of the Church in England.*

The Secretary then read on *The Functions and Needs of the American Society of Church History.* The paper was

discussed by Messrs. Schaff, Loetscher, Good, Faulkner, and Lyttle.

The following members were present at the morning session: Messrs. Baillie, Baird, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Horr, Loetscher, Lyttle, Schaff, Sadler, Schwarze, Preserved Smith, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary. Among the guests present was Rev. G. P. Conger of Union Theological Seminary. Regrets for inability to attend were received from Messrs. Peter Ainslie, F. A. Christie, W. A. Gifford, A. B. Keep, E. K. Mitchell, J. L. Neve, and R. H. Nichols.

At 1.05 P.M. recess was taken till 3.15. The President appointed a meeting of the Council to be held at 2.15 in the Directors' Room.

Fourteen members of the American Society of Church History and one guest lunched at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

AFTERNOON SESSION

At 3.30 President Schaff called the Society to order in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary. Otto Hermann Pannkoke read a paper by J. L. Neve, of the Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio, entitled *The Union Movements in the History of Lutheranism.* It was discussed by Messrs. Faulkner, E. W. Miller, Loetscher, and Good.

Leicester C. Lewis of Chicago made a statement about the Chicago Church History Club.

The Society then took up its annual business and listened to the report of the Council presented through the Secretary. This was accepted, as was the formal report submitted by the Secretary.

It was voted that the question of the publication of the Secretary's paper on *The Functions and Needs of the American Society of Church History* be referred to the Editorial Committee with power.

The report of the Treasurer, Henry James Weber, was accepted and referred to an Auditing Committee consisting of Messrs. Pannkoke and Sadler.

The Editorial Committee reported through Mr. Faulkner that it had read the papers submitted to it and had edited the fifth volume of the second series of the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*.

On motion of its Chairman, W. W. Rockwell, the Committee on the Formation of a Western Section of the American Society of Church History was discharged.

Through its Chairman, W. W. Rockwell, the Committee on Conference with the American Scandinavian Foundation reported progress, and that further action must be delayed until the close of the war.

President Horr reported the following resolution, which was seconded by E. P. Johnson and adopted by a rising vote:

The American Society of Church History desires to put on record its deep appreciation of the signal generosity of Mrs Abraham Lansing of Albany, New York, and of her effective interest in its work as shown by her provision for the publication of the *Life and Writings* of a distinguished member of her family, Wessel Gansfort.

We also wish to express to Professor Jared Waterbury Scudder, M.A., our sincere appreciation of his scholarly work in his admirable translation from the Latin; and we desire to give formal and hearty recognition to our fellow-member, Rev. Edward Waite Miller, D.D., who initiated the project and brought it to the attention of Mrs. Lansing; who collaborated with Professor Scudder in its execution; and who composed the interesting and valuable biography of Wessel Gansfort.

This resolution was unanimously adopted; and the Secretary was directed to send copies to Mrs. Lansing, to Dr. Miller, and to Professor Scudder.

By appointment of the Council E. P. Johnson reported the following resolution of thanks to the retiring Secretary:

Professor William Walker Rockwell, for six years past the Secretary of the American Society of Church History, having given notice that he must resign his secretaryship because of greatly increased Seminary duties, the Council of the Society hereby recommends that Dr. Rockwell's action be recorded with most sincere regret. And we further recommend that the Society express its sincere appreciation of Dr. Rockwell's very efficient and faithful service of the Society—not merely by his unfailing courtesy and cordial aid to each and every member at the annual meeting, and by his loyalty to every duty of his office during the year—but especially by his devoted attention to the manifold details of his work as the Society's Editor-in-chief. We may well record personally as well as collectively our gratitude for most valuable service graciously and faithfully given.

It was adopted by a standing vote.

Edward Waite Miller reported the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

The American Society of Church History wishes to express to the Directors of Union Theological Seminary its deep appreciation of their continued courtesy in providing it with a convenient and commodious place of meeting.

Frederick William Loetscher, Chairman of the Endowment Committee, reported that his Committee had included Messrs. H. B. Washburn and Williston Walker in consultation with the Secretary and O. H. Pannkoke. Chairman Loetscher reported progress but added that it was the general opinion of the Committee that the entrance of America into the great war rendered it inexpedient to make a public campaign for endowment at this time. The Society voted to continue the Committee and to add to it Messrs.

Rockwell and Pannkoke. The Committee was given the privilege of choosing as an Advisory Committee on Finance three gentlemen not members of the Society.

The following officers for 1918 proposed by the Council as a nominating committee were unanimously elected by ballot:

President: Henry Bradford Washburn.
Vice-President: Robert Hastings Nichols.
Secretary: Frederick William Loetscher.
Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

Elected Members of the Council:

George Edwin Horr, James Coffin Stout, William Nathaniel Schwarze, Shirley Jackson Case, William Walker Rockwell.

By the Constitution, in 1918 six *Former Presidents* are members of the Council:

Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff.

Discussion followed in regard to the advisability of our Society's compiling a list of the official measures taken in America during the past year to commemorate the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Protestant Reformation. No action was taken, because Rev. George L. Kieffer, a guest, called the attention of the Society to the fact that a list of that sort, compiled by Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, had been published in *The Lutheran Church Year Book for 1918*, pages forty-eight to fifty-one.

On motion, duly seconded, it was unanimously voted that the Treasurer be authorized to pay an annual contribution of one cent per member to the Conference of Historical Societies which convenes annually under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

The Secretary reported to the Society for information the actions of the Council at its meeting earlier in the afternoon.

At this point in the program the Society listened to a paper by William Warren Sweet of De Pauw University, entitled, *A Comparison of the Relation of the Churches to the Government, during the Civil War and the Present War.* It was discussed by Messrs. Washburn, Baird, and Pannkoke.

The Secretary reported that he had received two letters from Professor Shirley Jackson Case of the University of Chicago, outlining in detail a plan whereby the *American Journal of Theology* might be used as an organ for publishing papers read before the American Society of Church History prior to securing the endowment necessary to establish the *American Journal of Church History.* The proposal was received with great interest. At 6.08 P.M. President Schaff called Vice-President Washburn to the chair in order that he himself might speak to the question. It was felt that the Society's time for deliberation on this offer was too brief to allow of its proper consideration, so that the matter was referred to the Editorial Committee for report at the next annual meeting.

The Auditing Committee reported through Mr. Pannkoke that it had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct.

The Secretary read the minutes of the meeting and on motion duly seconded he was given the right to complete the minutes both of the Council and of the Society.

As time had been found during the afternoon to hear Dr. Sweet's paper originally scheduled for the evening, the evening session was given up and the annual meeting of the Society adjourned at 6.11 P.M.

During the afternoon the following members were present: Messrs. Baillie, Baird, Faulkner, Good, E. P. Johnson, Lewis, Loetscher, E. W. Miller, Pannkoke, Sadler, Schaff,

Schwarze, Sweet, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary; total sixteen members.

The following guests attended: Carl A. Crusius, G. L. Kieffer, and Mr. Joy.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, 1917

THE annual meeting of the Council was held in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on Monday, December 31, 1917. At 2.30 P.M. President Schaff called the meeting to order. Present: Messrs. Schaff, Faulkner, Good, Horr, E. P. Johnson, Loetscher, Schwarze, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary.

The Secretary reported the meeting of the Council on December 28th at Philadelphia, and moved a formal confirmation of the elections to membership and of the acceptances of resignations made at Philadelphia, and also of those made by circular letter during the year 1917, as summarized in the annual report of the Council. The motion was seconded by E. P. Johnson and was unanimously adopted.

A list of nominations of officers of the Society as adopted at Philadelphia was accepted by general consent.[1]

It was voted to appoint a Membership Committee of three consisting of the new Secretary (Mr. Loetscher), and of the Treasurer (Mr. Weber), with Mr. Rockwell as Chairman.

It was voted that the Endowment Committee be continued and, if they deem it wise, be authorized to form an Advisory Committee on Finance consisting of three men

[1] These votes, confirming the action of the Council at its meeting in Philadelphia, were taken as a measure of precaution lest some one should say that a meeting of our Board of Directors held outside the State of New York was illegal. Subsequently the Secretary consulted the legal adviser of the Society, Mr. Carmody, who assured him that there could be no doubt of the legality of a regularly called meeting of the Council held outside the State of New York.

of experience in financial matters outside the present membership of the Society. It was voted to refer to the Committee on Endowment the submission of an appeal based on the fact that the 100th birthday of Philip Schaff will occur on the first of January, 1919.

Authority was voted to the Chairman of the Membership Committee to charge to the Society his expenses for stenography and postage.

The Treasurer was authorized to pay the postage on the copies of the *Life and Writings of Wessel Gansfort* distributed through Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons to the members of the Society. He was also authorized to pay an annual contribution of one cent per member to the Conference of Historical Societies which convenes under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

The Council formally voted to recognize as correct as of the date of publication, December 27, 1917, the List of Members printed in the fifth volume of the second series of the *Papers*.

It was voted to continue Mr. Rockwell as a Committee on securing a seal for the Society, with $125.00 as the limit of expenditure for this purpose.

It was voted that the Editorial Committee be empowered to arrange the program for the annual meeting of 1918, and to appoint a local Committee on Arrangements. It was voted that the Editorial Committee be requested to issue the sixth volume of the second series of the *Papers* in 1918, if, in their opinion, financial considerations do not render this course impossible.

It was voted that the Secretary and the Chairman of the Membership Committee be authorized individually to send out presentation copies of the *Papers*, when in the judgment of one or both of them such gifts will serve the best interests of the Society.[1]

[1] See *Papers*, second series, vol. v, page xxxvi.

It was voted to authorize the publication of the translation of the following article, provided the expense may be borne by special gifts: *De Noord-Amerikaansche Predikant Henricus Selijns in de Gemeente Waverveen (1662–1682)* door Dr. A. Eekhof (Overgedrukt uit het *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, dl. xii., afl. 2, The Hague, 1915).

It was also voted to authorize the inclusion in the next volume of a paper by William Orpheus Shewmaker entitled, *The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America Prior to the Founding of Theological Seminaries.*[1]

After a brief statement by the Secretary it was unanimously voted that the Committee on the Formation of a Western Section of the American Society of Church History be discharged.

It was resolved to refer to the Editorial Committee the question of the advisability of indexing the volumes of *Papers* hitherto published by the Society, in case the series should come to an end.

An offer from the *American Journal of Theology* to become the official organ of publication of papers read before the Society was received with interest and referred to the annual meeting of the Society, which was to take place on the adjournment of the present meeting of the Council.

The Secretary was authorized to print the customary circular advertising the new volume of *Papers*. The following Editorial Committee for 1918 was appointed: Messrs. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, Schaff, and Loetscher.

A proposal to include in the next volume of *Papers* a comprehensive account of the celebration in America in 1917 of the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation was referred to the annual meeting of the Society.

[1] See *Papers*, second series, vol. v, page xxx.

The Secretary read his draft of the annual report of the Council and the Council approved it.

At 3.27 P.M. the Council adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1917

DURING the year the current business of the Council has been transacted by correspondence, subject to ratification at its December meetings. It has met twice this month, namely, at Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 9.30 A.M., on Friday, December 28th; and it has just concluded its annual meeting to-day in the room in which we are now assembled.

The following candidates were unanimously elected to active membership in the Society: (1) Rev. Canon George William Douglas, of New York City; (2) Rev. Prof. Ian Hannah, Oberlin Theological Seminary; (3) Rev. Prof. Leicester C. Lewis, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.; (4) Prof. Arthur J. Klein, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.; (5) Rev. C. W. Heathcote, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.; (6) Dr. Giorgio La Piana, Lecturer in the Harvard Divinity School; (7) Rev. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, New York City; (8) Rev. Dr. Wallace N. Stearns, Fargo, South Dakota; and (9) Rev. Prof. Oswald W. Howard, Montreal, Canada. At the Philadelphia meeting of the Council the following were chosen to membership: (10) Rev. Prof. C. T. Baillie, of the Presbyterian College, Trinidad; (11) Rev. R. B. Pomeroy, Instructor in the General Theological Seminary; and (12) Rev. Prof. H. E. Dosker, Louisville, Ky. Dr. Dosker resigned in 1916, but has decided to come back into the Society.

During 1917 no members of the Society have resigned. In a time of financial and national stress, such as the year 1917 has been, this is strong testimony to the professional value of our organization.

During the year three members, Dr. Henry Ferguson, Dr. Henry Otis Dwight, and Dr. George H. Dryer, have died.

Dr. Ferguson passed away at his home in Hartford, Connecticut, on Friday, March 30, 1917, after an illness of seven months. He was born in Stamford in 1848, and was graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, in 1868. He studied theology at the Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Connecticut, and was ordained to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. After six years as rector of Christ Church in Exeter, N. H., he was for two years rector at Claremont in the same State. In 1883 he became Northam Professor of History and Political Science in Trinity College. For five years, 1906–11, he was rector of one of the most celebrated of American secondary schools, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. After his retirement he lived in Hartford and was active in many lines both as a scholar and as a public-spirited citizen.

Dr. Ferguson's chief publication in the field of Church History is his *Four Periods in the Life of the Church* (New York, 1894). The book consists of lectures delivered in Christ Church, Hartford, Conn., in the Lent of 1892. The thought that dominates the treatment of the subject is "that the Christian Church is an organism and that consequently its progress has been conditioned by the laws of organic life."[1]

Henry Otis Dwight was born on June 3, 1843, in Constantinople, where his father, Reverend Harrison G. Otis Dwight, was a missionary of the American Board. He prepared for college in Constantinople and entered Ohio Wesleyan University. He left college in 1861 to enlist in the army of the United States, in which he served until 1865. He rose to the rank of Aide-de-camp to General Force, who commanded the 1st Division of the 17th Army Corps. In 1867 he returned to Turkey, where he served as missionary of the American Board until 1901. After three years spent in general literary and editorial work he became,

[1] See *Hartford Daily Courant*, March 31, 1917; *Who's Who in America*, 1914–1915.

in 1904, Secretary of the Bureau of Missions in New York. In January, 1907, he entered upon his duties as Recording Secretary of the American Bible Society, a position which he occupied at the time of his death. He died suddenly at his home in Roselle, N. J., on Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

In addition to performing a great deal of literary work in the Turkish language, Dr. Dwight was Constantinople correspondent of the *New York Tribune* from 1875 to 1892, Editor of the *Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions*, 1900, and Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Missions*, 1904. Dr. Dwight published several books on Turkey, also a revised dictionary of the Turkish language. From the point of view of Church History his greatest contribution was the *Centennial History of the American Bible Society*, published in 1916. The learning of Dr. Dwight was very generally recognized; but it must be emphasized that he was above all things a student of his own times and particularly of events in the Near East. In the words of a colleague, "He was brought into close relation with diplomatic personages and questions, and his knowledge of public affairs, acquired through many years' experience in such a post, was both wide and deep, so that he was recognized by both missionaries and diplomats as quite *sui generis*."[1]

On Friday, November 9, 1917, Rev. George Herbert Dryer died at Phœnix, Arizona, whither he had gone the previous month in quest of health. He was born in Mendon, Monroe County, New York, December 15, 1849. In 1867, he entered Genesee College, and finished the classical course in 1871, and was graduated in the following year from Syracuse University. In 1888 that University gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. From 1894 to 1896, he studied at the Universities of Berlin and Munich.

In 1871, he joined the East Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and held successively many pastorates in the State of New York. In an illustrated pamphlet entitled

[1] *Bible Society Record*, vol. 62, no. 7, July, 1917, page 125 f.; *Who's Who in America*, 1914–1915.

The Man and his Work (privately printed, 1912), he listed his appointments as follows: Scottsburg, 1871, Allen's Hill, 1872, Springfield, 1874, Tonawanda, 1877, Brockport, 1880, Le Roy, 1883, Medina, 1886, Niagara District, 1888, Bath, 1897, West Ave., Rochester, 1899, Wellsville, 1902, Genesee District, 1904. His last pastorate was at Pittsford. He was eminently successful in building churches and had revivals in every pastoral charge except one. He had also a foreign pastorate in 1896–1897, when he was in charge of the American Methodist Church in Rome.

To the end of his life he was an indefatigable reader, particularly of books of history and travel. He wrote *A Manual for Church Officers* (New York, 1893) and a textbook in the Epworth League Reading Course entitled *The Founding of a New World* (New York, 1898). His chief publication was the *History of the Christian Church* in five volumes (Cincinnati, 1896 ff.), prepared during his three years' sojourn in Europe.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, 1917

IN closing his six years of service your Secretary has already delivered his valedictory, in the shape of the address of the morning, on the *Functions and Needs of the American Society of Church History*. He has also read the annual report of the Council, which contains much of the material formerly incorporated into the Secretary's report. Very little remains for him to say, but that little records activity.

The chief event in our year that closes to-day is the publication of the fifth volume of the second series of our *Papers*. The first copy was received on Thursday, December 27th. The Editorial Committee in 1917 consisted of Messrs. Ayer, Faulkner, and Johnson, with the Secretary as Managing Editor.

The work of the various committees has been faithfully carried on as will be reported by their chairmen.

It is a particular pleasure to note the publication in 1917 by the State of New York of the index to the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, a project in favor of which our Society passed a resolution some years ago. The manuscript of the index was begun by the late Dr. E. T. Corwin, and after extensive revisions has been issued by the present State Historian, James Sullivan, Ph.D.

The last distinctive event of the year was the holding of a Joint Session with the American Historical Association at Philadelphia on Friday, December 28th.[1]

Several members of the Society are actively engaged in war work. As no systematic attempt was made to ascertain

[1] The minutes of the Philadelphia meeting are printed on page xiii f.

the various types of service in which members were engaged, it is impossible for the Secretary to give at present a truly representative list. It will be of interest, however, to know that at least one of our fellow-members, J. H. M. Dudley, has won a captaincy.[1]

Respectfully submitted,

WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary.

[1] Early in 1918 he was promoted to be Acting Major of Infantry.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL IN NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 16, 1918

IN accordance with the constitutional requirements a call for a special meeting of the Council having been issued by the President through the Secretary, the Council met on the above date in a room of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, at 12 o'clock noon. President Washburn was in the chair; the other members present were Dr. Rockwell, Dr. Faulkner, Prof. Stout, and the Secretary. Excuses for absence from this meeting were received at this time, or later by letter, from the following: Dr. Weber, Dr. Christie Dr. Nichols, Dr. Good, and Dr. E. P. Johnson.

The minutes of the special meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia on December 28, 1917, were read by the former Secretary, Dr. Rockwell, and were approved as read.

The minutes of the regular meeting held in New York on December 31, 1917, were read by Dr. Rockwell, and approved as read.

The Agreement made on the 2d day of January, 1918, between Frederick W. Jackson, of the city, county, and State of New York, as surviving executor of the last will and testament of Samuel M. Jackson, deceased, party of the first part, and the American Society of Church History, Inc., party of the second part, was read, and on motion of Dr. Rockwell it was resolved that the Secretary be directed and empowered to sign and seal this Agreement in the name and on the behalf of the Society, if and when Dr. Rockwell shall inform him that he (Dr. Rockwell) has

received assurances from the Secretary of the Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, in harmony with the particulars contained in the letter of Dr. Rockwell dated February 14, 1918, to the Secretary of the said Board.[1]

The following was adopted: Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to send a copy of the *Life and Writings of Wessel Gansfort* to each member of the Society elected on or after December 28, 1917, upon payment of the annual dues, until the copies presented to the Society by Mrs. Abraham Lansing will have been exhausted.

It was resolved that the sixth volume of the *Papers* of the Society be published in 1918.

The following were elected into the membership of the Society: the Rev. Samuel Gardiner Ayers, of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Chicago; the Rev. Professor William J. Hinke, Ph.D., D.D., of Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, New York; and Drew Theological Seminary Library, Madison, N. J.

The question of providing preprints of Dr. Rockwell's paper read on December 31, 1917, at the meeting of the Society in New York, entitled *The Functions and Needs of the American Society of Church History*, was referred to the Editorial Committee with power.

Dr. Rockwell announced the death of Mrs. Catherine Ganzvoort Lansing, wife of the late Abraham Lansing of Albany, New York, on Tuesday evening, January 22, 1918, and secured the approval of the Council of his request, made at the time of the death of Mrs. Lansing, that the Rev. Dr. E. W. Miller represent the Society at the funeral.

[1] The desired assurances having been secured and the required authorization given, the Secretary signed and sealed the Agreement in duplicate, the signatures of the party of the first part and of the party of the second part being duly witnessed before notaries public on the 17th and on the 11th days of April, 1918, respectively.

The printing of the list of officers of the Society was approved.

The minutes of this meeting were read and approved.

On motion the Council adjourned.

Attest:

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

Christian Work among the North American Indians during the Eighteenth Century

By

Edward Payson Johnson

CHRISTIAN WORK AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Edward Payson Johnson, Professor of Church History in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.

(*The Presidential Address, read December 26, 1916*)

THE average person, of average acquaintance with the history of our country, knows but little of the missionary labors of our Christian ancestors. He remembers hearing something, or reading somewhere, about a certain John Eliot, a Puritan preacher, who tried for years to Christianize some Indian communities near Boston; and to him Eliot was simply a visionary and a gently-stubborn fanatic, unpractical and unreasonable as the enthusiastic preacher sometimes is; but of course Eliot was the *only* preacher foolish enough to try to Christianize Indians; and the slow development and the final decay of Eliot's enterprise proved conclusively the utter folly and futility of giving the white man's religion to the red man, and also proved conclusively that Eliot himself was little more than a dreamer, or a monomaniac, to foresee his cause triumphant finally over countless impossibilities. Christian preachers and people generally devote themselves to labors more profitable and objects more sensible.

Such confident conclusions are drawn by the moralizer from ignorance, rather than knowledge, of well-established facts and results of our past. It is time that the early

Christian communities of our country should be given the honor they deserve because of their true devotion to the Evangel of Jesus. Not merely a few, but many Christians were inspired by an aggressive missionary zeal for the saving of the savages. In many different parts of colonial America, by their missionary labors for the red man, Christian people showed their love to the only Saviour of mankind, and their loyalty to His will. Puritan, Pilgrim and Churchman, Walloon and Dutchman, Palatine, Quaker, and Moravian recognized the Christian's missionary obligation to heathen peoples.

A modern writer says:

> The prevailing misapprehension which often appears still in missionary literature needs to be corrected, and the *remoter genesis* of this enterprise examined. As there were Reformers before the Reformation, so there were missions long before the present evangelistic era. Adequate study on that line may serve to cultivate in a self-complacent generation the wisdom of modesty.[1]

The fact that the Roxbury Church, which loved and honored John Eliot as its pastor for fifty-eight years, was sufficiently consecrated and unselfish to share for forty-three years their pastor's labors with nearby Indian villages shows clearly that the Roxbury people were like-minded with the Roxbury pastor. The same missionary fellowship is true of other pastors and parishes of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The conversion of the Indians and their confirmation in the Christian life were sought as well as the conversion and confirmation of men and women of the white race. Believing that God is no respecter of persons, many pastors in the truly Pauline spirit loved and served *all* the human beings of their neighborhoods, red men and white men alike. In the latter part of the seventeenth century,

[1] A. C. Thompson, *Protestant Missions*, page 4.

one church of which I know personally, the First Reformed Church of Albany, N. Y., had more than sixty Mohawk Indians, men and women, on its communicant roll of members.

Usually, however, from the earliest colonial times it was judged most wise and expedient to organize the Indians of a community into a mission, chapel, or church of their own, with schools and training-schools exclusively for their own children and young people. Eminent as may be the example of John Eliot and his Roxbury parish in evangelistic zeal for the Indians, this is but an example and illustration of the spirit and endeavor of many pastors and parishes that quietly and continuously served the highest welfare of all human beings within reach. John Cotton at Plymouth, Roger Williams at Providence, Daniel Gookin at Sherborn, Abram Pierson at Branford, James Fitch at Westerly, Samuel Danforth at Taunton, Peter Thacher at Boston, Roland Cotton at Sandwich, and his brother, Josiah Cotton, the judge, at Manomet, Samuel Treat at Eastham, and the five generations—a one-hundred-and-sixty-year pastorate—of the Mayhews at Martha's Vineyard,—these, and many other pastors and parishes, abundantly prove the general, as well as the genuine, concern of colonial New England for the Christianizing of the Indian tribes. The Massachusetts Company, organized under the royal charter of 1628, speak of the propagation of the Gospel as "the thing they do profess above all to be their aim in settling this plantation." Higginson, who went to Salem, declared, "we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America."

The Pilgrims, before leaving Holland, declared plainly their purpose not only to enlarge the dominions of the English state in the new world, but the Church of Christ also, "if the Lord had a people among the nations whither He would bring them." That the missionary idea was distinctive and inspiring in their enterprise the original seal

of the Massachusetts Bay Colony significantly shows with its Indian figure, and his Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us!"[1] In 1646 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay passed the first act encouraging the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians; and recommended to the elders of the churches to consider the means by which this might best be effected.[2] Here we have the highest legislative and judicial authority of the colony sanctioning and urging the evangelizing of the Indians. It has become of sufficient importance as a public policy to inspire a decree, enjoining Indian evangelization, from the Supreme Court.

And further: we learn that such aggressive Christian work was encouraged and aided by Christian people and clergymen in Old England, the Mother Land,—by Churchmen as well as Dissenters. Seventy pastors—English and Scottish—sent up a petition to Parliament in 1644, that encouragement be given missionaries who should go out to America. To the high honor of Oliver Cromwell and the Long Parliament an ordinance was passed in 1649, creating the "Corporation for the Propagating of the Gospel in New England,"—the first Protestant missionary body in Great Britain. Collections of funds for its support were ordered by the same Parliament to be taken in all the parishes of England, and amounted to the then large amount of $60,000. The money was invested, and its annual income was sent on through the governors of the United Colonies—the official agents in New England—for the support of the missionaries and teachers engaged in Indian work. After the Restoration, in 1661, this Society was reconstituted and incorporated by Charles II; and the Hon. Robert Boyle served as its president for thirty years. This good man, eminent for religious character and service, who was the most conspicuous person in England for effective

[1] Thompson, *Prot. Miss.*, p. 51. [2] Brown, *History of Missions*, p. 32.

efforts to promote foreign evangelization, gave in his last will and testament, dated 1691, some $27,000 to the propagation of Christianity among unevangelized and unenlightened peoples. This bequest resulted in the forming of a corporation whose first achievement was the foundation of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, for the instruction of Indian children.[1]

Domine Dellius, of the Dutch Church of Albany, during the closing years of the seventeenth century had won the confidence and affection of the Mohawk Indians, the most warlike tribe of the great Iroquois Confederacy, and by his devotion to their temporal, as well as spiritual, interests had excited the suspicion and hostility of Bellomont, the royal governor. Weary of the disagreeable controversy, and a favorable opportunity offering for a return to Holland, Dellius bade farewell to his Mohawk friends, as well as his Albany parish, in 1699.

Robert Livingston, the provincial Indian agent, promised the Mohawks in 1700 that he would engage Domine Johannes Lydius, the new Albany pastor, to learn their language, and preach the Gospel to them. He hoped soon to have the Bible translated into their language, "and then their children should learn to read it, and it would be interesting and consolatory to them." In 1702 the praying Indian represented to their agent that Lydius had exhorted them "to live as Christians, not in envy and malice, which are the works of Satan, but in concord and peace; that then God would bless them." These teachings, they say, "had so wrought on their spirits that they were now all united and friends." They returned hearty thanks for the pains taken with them, which, according to Indian custom, they acknowledged with a belt of wampum. When Lydius died seven years later, the Indians presented four beaver-skins

[1] *Cf.* Thompson, *Prot. Miss.*, p. 44, and Robinson, *Hist. of Christian Miss.*, pp. 56, 57.

to the agent as an expression of their condolence at his death.

Bernardus Freeman was the pastor of the Dutch church at Schenectady, and also missionary to the Mohawks from 1700 to 1705. Governor Bellomont appointed him teacher to the Five Nations, August 21, 1700, at a salary of sixty pounds; and the next year it was raised to seventy-five pounds. It is claimed that he acquired more skill in the language of the Mohawks than any Dutch minister that had been in the country, not even excepting Dellius.[1]

Petrus Van Driessen during the twenty-six years of his pastorate in Albany gave much attention to missionary work among the Indians, first among the Mohawks, and later among the Oneidas also; and although he gave up the work partially after the Church of England missionary, the Rev. William Andrews, settled at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk country, he fully resumed the work after Mr. Andrews left in 1719. Although refusing again and again to appeal for help to the Governor for services rendered, he at length found the burden of traveling to and from the Mohawk country at his own expense for twenty years so great, that we find him appealing to the Classis of Amsterdam first, and later to the Governor, for indorsement and assistance.[2]

The venerable corporation known as the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was created by resolution of Convocation of the Church of England, March 13, 1700. All diocesan bishops in England were, *ex officio*, members of its standing committee. Earnest Christians realized at last that England must prevent her colonists from becoming heathenized, as well as undertake the Christianizing of the heathen Indians.

The Society at first sought chiefly to supply and support clergy in the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain;

[1] Corwin, *Manual*, pp. 587, 468.

[2] *Eccl. Records of New York*, iii, 2191; iv, 2549, 2595.

but it designed also, as stated in the first anniversary sermon of the Society in 1702, "to proceed in the best methods toward the conversion of the natives"; and also included "the breeding up of persons to understand the great variety of languages of those countries, in order to be able to converse with the natives, and preach the gospel to them." Eight years later, at the Society's anniversary, the following resolutions were adopted:

I. That the design of propagating the gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels; and therefore that branch of it ought to be prosecuted preferably to all others. II. That in consequence thereof immediate care be taken to send itinerant missionaries to preach the gospel among the Six Nations of the Indians, according to the primary intention of the late King William of glorious memory.[1]

It should be noted here that the encouragement and compensation given Dutch pastors of Albany and Schenectady because of their missionary work among the Iroquois by the colonial governors—who were naturally in the interest of the Church of England—were due to political prudence more than to evangelical concern; the Dutch pastors being used as agents because they were available, "living next door to the Indians," so to speak, while Church of England missionaries of any kind could not be had for many years. A half-century of appeal, however, urging in the strongest terms upon the Christian people and the government of England, in behalf of Iroquois evangelization, the plea of political necessity, as well as expediency and wisdom, humanity and justice, and the command of Jesus Himself, resulted in the sending of the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor in 1704 as English missionary to the Mohawks. Great preparations were made for him, and great things were expected from him; but at the very beginning he was detained for

[1] Robinson, *Hist. Chr. Missions*, pp. 58, 59.

many weeks in Albany by "a great fall of snow"; later, owing to the influence of the fur-traders and rum-sellers, his efforts to convert the heathen seemed fruitless. Evidently in deep depression of soul he wrote home to the Society thus: "To *begin* with the *Indians* is preposterous; for it is from the behavior of the Christians here that they have had, and still have, their notion of Christianity,—which, God knows hath been generally such that it hath made the Indians to hate our religion." The next year he returned to New York.

In 1708 the Rev. Thomas Barclay was chaplain of the English fort in Albany, and often read service and preached in Dutch to the Albany people. He officiated also at Schenectady, and worked among the Indians from time to time, until November, 1712, when Rev. William Andrews came from England as the successor of Mr. Moor.

Mr. Andrews seems to have been disappointed and pessimistic from the first of his work at Fort Hunter; he saw nothing good in the Indians, old or young; "heathens they are," he writes, "and heathens they will still be"; and, having this mind, he was foredoomed to be a failure as a missionary. After several requests for leave to resign were denied, he was finally permitted, in 1719, to abandon his mission.[1]

Not far from 1730 the Rev. John Miln was living in Albany, serving the Albany station as missionary. The commanding officer of the garrison wrote the S. P. G. F. P. in 1731, commending Mr. Miln's "indefatigable pains in instructing the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion"; Miln's plan being to visit the Mohawks four times each year, and to remain with them five days each visit. In 1735 the same British officer repeated and confirmed his favorable testimony, stating that "the Indians

[1] Compare *Eccl. Records*, iii, 1556, 1866, and Hawkins, *Missions of the Church of England*, 265, 282 ff., and 266 ff.

were very much civilized of late"; which he imputed to the industry and pains of Mr. Miln; reporting that he was very diligent in baptizing both children and adults, and that the number of communicants was daily increasing.

In 1736, in Lieut. Gov. Clark's report to the Lords of Trade, he mentions payment of sixty pounds to Mr. Barclay. This was Rev. Henry Barclay, the son of Rev. Thomas Barclay, for some time catechist among the Mohawks; who after taking orders in England, in 1738 was appointed by the S. P. G. as missionary to Albany and Fort Hunter (the fort having been built in 1718). Barclay continued his labors till 1746. His life was frequently in danger because of French Jesuit intriguing with the Mohawks; yet, at his departure after eight years of work, he had a congregation of five hundred Indians, of whom more than eighty were regular communicants.

For a time the Mohawk mission was vacant; but in 1748 the Society appointed the Rev. John Ogilvie, of Albany, who was specially qualified for service being able to preach in the Dutch language. In successive letters he complains of the serious havoc wrought among the Indians by their indulgence in strong drink. In 1756 he writes that when the Mohawks were home from their hunting expeditions they regularly attended divine service; and even while out upon the hunt several of them came sixty miles to communicate on Christmas Day. The number of his Indian communicants was fifty. He says that in less than six months fifty-five persons had died, chiefly from the effects of drinking; but he persevered steadily in his duty, and daily catechized the children. In 1758 the Mohawk tribe was involved in all the horrors of a cruel war, by an invasion of the French Indians, who burned the wigwams, and carried away the families of the Mohawks. Early in 1760 Ogilvie went with the military expedition to Niagara as chaplain; and his letters prove his apostolic spirit. During the campaign he

was particularly careful to perform all the offices of religion among the Indians allied with the colonial army; and he reports that "great numbers of them attended divine service constantly, regularly, and decently."[1]

In 1770 the Rev. John Stuart, by the recommendation of Sir William Johnson to the Society, was appointed missionary to the Mohawks, at Fort Hunter. He soon won the confidence and respect of all who knew him. Mrs. Grant says of him in her Memoirs, "he labored among the Indians with apostolic zeal, and with the same disregard for the things of this world." He prepared with the assistance of the celebrated Joseph Brant, the famous Indian chief, a Mohawk translation of the Gospel of St. Mark, with a compendious history of the Bible, and an exposition of the Church Catechism. In 1774 the death of Sir William Johnson brought great sorrow and loss to Mr. Stuart. On the breaking out of the War of the Revolution he naturally remained loyal to the British king, and exerted an influence upon his Indians which soon made him obnoxious to the yeomanry of the Mohawk Valley. He was beloved by the Indians, and protected by them for a time; but upon the approach of Burgoyne, the Mohawks hastened to join his army, and shared his downfall. Having been "put upon parole," and forbidden to leave the place, Stuart lived in Schenectady for some time; but in 1781 he was permitted to remove with his family to Canada. He was known among his New York friends as "The Little Gentleman," because six feet four inches in height; while the honorable title of the "Father of the Upper Canada Church" was worthily given him after years of faithful service in the "Dominion."[2]

The Sir William Johnson mentioned above was an

[1] Hawkins, as cited, pp. 283 to 287.

[2] Compare *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii, p. 645, iv, p. 313, and Hawkins, as cited, pp. 320 ff.

earnest supporter of the Church of England. Living for many years among the Indians of the Mohawk Valley, and until his death, he zealously exerted himself for the education and conversion of the Indian tribes. He was also most zealous in promoting the permanent establishment of the Church of England in America by the endowment of an episcopate. For this purpose he conveyed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 20,000 acres of land in the neighborhood of Schenectady; and on the 10th of December, 1768, he wrote as follows on the subject: "We cannot have a clergy here without an episcopate; and this want, as it has occasioned many to embrace other persuasions, will oblige greater numbers to follow their example."[1]

In 1706 the S. P. G. F. P. sent out under commission Dr. La Jau to take charge of its mission in Charleston, S. C., and in 1706 the Rev. Richard Maule was sent to St. John's mission on the west branch of the Cooper River. Both these devoted missionaries labored zealously for the spiritual welfare of colonists, negroes, and Indians alike, amid extreme hardships and privations, at length sacrificing their lives while seeking the salvation of others; La Jau dying in eleven years' time, and Maule in less than nine years.

A more famous missionary of this Society was the Rev. John Wesley, approved by vote of the Society, as appears in its Journal for January 16, 1736, and guaranteed a salary of fifty pounds yearly, as missionary to the colonists and the heathen Indians in the three-year-old colony of Savannah, Georgia. General Oglethorpe himself had invited Wesley to take the Georgia mission, which Wesley at first declined to do; but encouraged by his truly noble-minded mother, he finally consented. His reply to a scoffer, who shortly before his sailing taunted him with his madness in leaving a good provision for life and the prospect of preferment, for

[1] Hawkins, as cited, pp. 293, 320, 327.

the sake of converting savages in America, deserves a place in every history of missions:—

> Sir, if the Bible be not true, I am as very a fool and madman as you can conceive; but if it be of God, I am sober-minded. For He has declared, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

Wesley said that he hoped to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen. His ministry in Georgia, contrary to his expectation, was confined to the English congregation during the twenty-one months of his brief stay; for although he made several attempts to leave Savannah, with a view of preaching the Gospel to the Indians, his design in one way or another was always frustrated.[1]

In 1709 a "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" was organized in Scotland, chiefly because of representations (in letters of prominent American ministers, such as Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr) "regarding the wretched condition of Indians in the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania." This Scottish Society undertook to support two missionaries; and under their auspices the Rev. Azariah Horton, in 1741, began work among the Indians of Long Island. Although no memorial of him remains but the simple and brief record of his early labors, and some of their obvious results, Mr. Horton was certainly "a humble, laborious and self-denying servant of the cross." His work extended for more than one hundred miles, the whole southern shore of Long Island, along which were scattered the remnants of once numerous tribes, at that time reduced to "four hundred, old and young." "Four or five times a year, from Montauk to

[1] Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

Rockaway, he traveled, back and forth, living on coarse Indian fare, sleeping in their smoky wigwams, teaching them to read the Word of God, and daily preaching to them the Gospel of Jesus." This was the time of the "Great Awakening" in many different parts of the country; and thousands were anxiously asking, "What must I do to be saved?" The simple preaching of the Gospel, slowly interpreted by an Indian helper, to these degraded savages was honored of the God who "is no respecter of persons," with "the dispensation of the same Spirit." Many Indians who had long rejected the Gospel offer bowed low with contrite hearts to the message of grace. Remarkable results were realized by Horton, not in one or two favorable localities, nor on a few special occasions, but during several successive years, and throughout the length of the island. His journal shows that hopeful conversions, in many instances, took place not under the excitement of a crowded public service, but in the absence of the missionary in some other village of his charge. The long continuance of the spiritual interest gives further proof of the genuineness of this religious work. Mr. Horton remained in the service of the Scottish Society for the Long Island Indians eleven years. He was cheered once by the visit of a fellow-laborer, David Brainerd, then preparing for a like mission, who in February, 1742, made a short visit, and preached to Mr. Horton's "poor, dear people." Horton left Long Island, in 1752, for what cause is not known, but probably to settle as first pastor at South Hanover, N. J., where he labored until his death, twenty-five years later.

In 1753 Sampson Occum was sent as a teacher to the Long Island Indians. He was a native of the Mohegan tribes and had been hopefully converted in 1741, being then in his eighteenth year. Between four and five years he studied at the school of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon. The teachableness and faithfulness of Occum suggested the founding of

"Moor's Charity School," which Mr. Wheelock soon after established for the special instruction of Indians; and in this school (whose near relationship to Dartmouth College is well known), Joseph Brant and others were afterward educated. In 1759 Occum was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Suffolk, and for the next six years served the Long Island Indians as missionary. In 1765 he was sent with one companion by Mr. Wheelock to England, to solicit funds for the Indian school. Great curiosity was awakened by this first Indian preacher ever seen in England, and he secured much favorable attention. In less than a year and a half he preached between three and four hundred times throughout England and Scotland, and collected over $40,000 for the Indian school,—the king himself subscribing two hundred pounds, and Lord Dartmouth fifty guineas.

After Occum's final departure from Long Island, missionary work among the Indians was undertaken by a native preacher, Peter John, "for many years a faithful and successful preacher of the Gospel." The historian says: "By his zeal, piety, and perseverance he gathered small churches at Wading Run, Poosepatuck, and Islip, to which, with the church at Canoe Place, he ministered till after his grandson, and successor, was brought into the ministry." This "grandson," the Rev. Paul Cuffee (ordained by a council of Congregational ministers in 1790, and serving the native churches of Montauk and Canoe Place till his death in 1812), was in many respects an unusually gifted and attractive preacher, and was universally loved and respected. Dr. N. S. Prime in his *History of Long Island* writes in high appreciation of this Indian preacher's ardent piety, and of the pathos of his appeals, and notes as "the most amiable and distinctive trait of his character, both in the pulpit and out of it, the unaffected humility of his heart. He died, as he had lived, under the smiles of his Saviour."[1]

[1] Prime, *History of Long Island*, pp. 104 ff., 110 ff., 114 ff.

The best-known missionary of the Scottish "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" is the Rev. David Brainerd, whose brief but truly consecrated career has brought holy inspiration to many Christians on both sides of the Atlantic. He was born in Haddam, Conn., April 20, 1718, a great-grandson of Rev. Peter Hobart, who came over in the *Mayflower*, and on his maternal side springing from an "ancestry noteworthy for the number of its ministers." He had a pitiful childhood and youth; was left fatherless when nine years old, and an orphan at thirteen; he was of delicate health, of feeble frame, melancholy, and morbidly conscientious. Before reaching eight years of age he was frequently in such acute fear of death and perdition that he could not play with other children, but would steal away to the lonely woods that he might there pray for mercy. Doubtless the death of his mother increased this melancholy and these fears. For a year he tried to be a farmer; but, when nineteen years old, felt a resistless call to prepare to preach the Gospel. Even yet he was uncertain and anxious as to his spiritual condition; but "one day"—he writes—"while walking in great distress of mind in a thick, dark wood, suddenly unspeakable glory seemed to open to the view and apprehension of my soul. I was captivated and delighted with the excellency, loveliness, greatness, and other perfections of God, so that even I was swallowed up in Him." Henceforth more and more Brainerd finds "unspeakable sweetness and delight in God." He entered Yale College about the time that George Whitefield was conducting religious meetings in the Middle and New England States. Because of his intense spiritual nature Brainerd was greatly drawn to Whitefield and his teachings; but Whitefield's fervent methods were coldly regarded by the Yale faculty; and there is little doubt that the Yale dislike for Whitefield was soon extended to Whitefield's young admirer. A somewhat careless and censorious re-

mark by Brainerd concerning the tutor Whittlesey was overheard, and repeated, soon reaching one of the college faculty. Brainerd was called before the college Rector; his story was heard; and he was commanded to make public confession in hall. The boy refused, claiming it unjust to treat as a crime a remark made in private conversation. The Rector was inexorable, and Brainerd was expelled from college, although in his junior year, and at the head of his class. But he was not to be defeated in his purpose to preach the Gospel by this unpleasant college experience; so he continued his studies privately, was at length licensed to preach at Danbury, and went for a time as preacher to the wasted community of Indians at Kent on the Housatonic River. Next year, although feeling keenly the injustice of his treatment at college, he decided to act upon the advice of a friend, and wrote a most humble letter of apology to the Rector, asking permission to graduate with his class. Influential friends interceded for him also, but the inflexible Rector refused Brainerd the coveted honor, unless he would pursue his college studies another year. This was impossible, so Brainerd left New Haven with a sad heart, because denied the degree he deserved and should have taken. His humiliation however brought him the friendship of Jonathan Edwards, the great theologian, and Aaron Burr, later president of Princeton College. Both Millington and Easthampton parishes urged him to settle as pastor; but about the same time came an invitation to serve the Scottish Society as missionary to the Indians, which Brainerd felt constrained to accept. The New England agents of the Scottish Society designed Brainerd as their missionary to the Indians of the Delaware Valley, but because of temporary trouble between the settlers and the Delaware Indians, Brainerd was advised to give a year to the Indians at Kaunaumeek, a locality now known as Brainerd's Bridge, sixteen miles east of Albany and five miles northwest of New

Lebanon. Notwithstanding his feeble health and frequent suffering from cold and hunger, though often lost in the woods and obliged to spend the night in the open air, once falling from his horse into a wintry stream he was fording, Brainerd never thinks of giving up his work, or regrets his choice of such a hard field. Eleven months later came war between England and France, and there were frequent rumors of attacks by the Canadian Indians. So the Scotch Commissioners thought best to transfer the Kaunaumeek Indians to the Stockbridge reservation, and to order Brainerd away at once to his work among the Indians of the Delaware and the Susquehanna Rivers. In May of 1744, crossing the Hudson at Fishkill, he journeyed by way of Goshen in the New York highlands to the Delaware River; finding scarcely any settlements on his way, and suffering much fatigue and many hardships. Naturally he was fond of solitude, but his journal shows that the ghastly desolation of this wilderness went to his soul. No missionary society in these days would send out a man in Brainerd's physical condition. Tuberculosis had already made such progress in his college life as to seal him for an early grave; and the Delaware mission compelled him to undergo such exhausting privations, undertake such almost superhuman exertions, and squander his impaired vital forces in such lavish measure as could not fail to hasten the inevitable issue. His labors in the valley of the Delaware were at several different points; for a time some seven miles below the Water Gap; at another time eight miles farther south; and still later at the forks of the Delaware (so called because at one time the present Lehigh River was known as the west branch of the Delaware), and very near the site of the present city of Easton, Penna. Brainerd's difficulties were very great; not merely because he had no experience with the language, which was broken up into many dialects, but by reason of the unspeakable degradation, squalor, and ignorance

of the Indians, as well as their too great familiarity with the "bad white men" of the region. These "bad whites," with their brutal greed, their rum-selling and gambling, and their loathsome vices ever proved the worst and most persistent foes of the missionaries and their work among the American Indians. They preyed upon the Delawares, and brutally debauched them, contemptuously declaring that "the God of the pale face was no friend of the red men." Yet Brainerd soon gained the confidence of the Indians—for even their dull, besotted souls were compelled to love and trust a friend who so willingly and constantly lavished himself and his all upon his service and sacrifice for their welfare.

In addition to his spiritual work he had all their worldly affairs on his hands. He was expected to settle their quarrels, to provide for their wants, and to act as guardian for many children. In October of that year, 1744, with a friend and an interpreter, he visited the Indians on the Susquehanna, some one hundred and twenty miles to the westward. Of this tour of discovery he writes thus to the Scotch Commissioners: "I have traveled more than one hundred and thirty miles on the river above the English settlements, and met with individuals of seven or eight tribes, speaking as many different languages."

The missionary visit to these Susquehanna Indians was repeated in 1745, and also in 1746. At times Brainerd became greatly depressed; and above all things he longed for a colleague, to share not only his labors, but his loneliness. June 5, 1745, he began preaching at Crossweeksung,—a locality now known as Crosswicks,—a scattered Indian community some sixty miles below the forks of the Delaware, nine miles southeast of Trenton, and four east of Bordentown. Here he had the most cheering experiences of his life,—a genuine revival among the Indians. "Almost all persons of all ages were bowed down with concern," he writes, "and scarce one was able to withstand the influence.

Old men and women who had been drunken wretches for years, and children not more than six or seven years old, as well as persons of middle age." Though filled with joy at the manifest work of the Holy Spirit in these apparently transformed savages, yet Brainerd was exceedingly careful in his spiritual discipline as well as instruction; he was thoroughly convinced that the change was permanent before receiving any of the Indians to church membership. His faithful personal dealing and discipline was well rewarded, and Crossweeksung became truly a Christian community. With what gratitude he writes of them:

> I know of no assembly of Christians where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, and where I should take so much delight in the public worship of God in general as in my own congregation,—although not more than nine months ago under the power of pagan darkness and superstition.

Naturally he was much attached to the Indians of Crossweeksung, and he built himself a log house there; but he divided his labors with other Delawares and the Susquehanna Indians Now and then he rode his horse back to New York and Connecticut, to raise money for his various projects. One of his later letters runs thus: "Since the beginning of March last I have rode more than 300 miles: and almost all has been on my own proper business as missionary, either immediately or remotely, of propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians." A more favorable location for the Indian colony, with better surroundings and conditions, offering itself at Cranbury, fifteen miles northeast of Crosswicks, Brainerd removed to this place with many of his Indians, May 3, 1746.

And now the end was very near; although not yet twenty-nine years of age the work of this apostle to the Indians was finished. During his four years of missionary life he

had "had no comfortable home; at different places of sojourn he had builded himself a simple little hut, in each case rude and most scantily furnished. Great exposures were frequent; hardships constant; debility and sickness inevitable. Hectic fever, night sweats, and hemorrhages from the lungs were a natural consequence." The middle of April, 1747, he left New Jersey, proceeding by slow stages to New England, in a month's time reaching Northampton, and the home of Jonathan Edwards, whose daughter was his affianced wife. Parts of June and July spent in Boston accomplished nothing in checking the disease. His longed-for departure, "that glorious day," came October 9, 1747.

In many respects David Brainerd reminds us of St. Paul in his life of zeal, sacrifice, and self-abandon. With what other consecrated life can we compare this young missionary martyr who truly confirmed by his daily living this high profession of his faith?—

> I'll spend my life to my latest moment in dens and caves of the earth if the kingdom of God may thereby be advanced. Oh! with what reluctance did I find myself obliged to consume time in sleep! *I longed to be a flame of fire*, continually glowing in the service of God, preaching and building up Christ's kingdom to my latest, my dying moment.[1]

John Sergeant, after graduation a tutor in Yale College for four years, in 1734 visited Housatonic, an Indian village in western Massachusetts, and preached there. He had long been in the habit of praying God daily that He would send him to the heathen, that he might turn them from darkness to light. The "River Indians," as they were then called, numbered less than fifty; and no one had done anything thus far to evangelize them. Some of this scattered tribe were living across the New York State line, and some across the Connecticut border. Sergeant's conviction of Christian obliga-

[1] *Brainerd's Life*, p. 211.

tion was so overwhelming as to lead him to exchange academic society and pursuits for the hardships of Indian life. Two sons of prominent Indians came with Sergeant to New Haven in 1729, and were under his instruction there during his four years of tutor life. Sergeant realized clearly the opposition he must encounter from the fur-traders and rum-sellers, who were preying upon the Indians, warning them against the missionary, and denouncing his work as simply an English scheme to enslave them. In 1735 he was ordained at an impressive service, the Governor of the colony and the Commissioners of the Missionary Corporation being present. The missionary began his work with the teaching of the children; but saw at once that a knowledge of the Indian dialect was necessary, and to acquire this he applied himself diligently.[1] In three years he began to preach in the Indian tongue, and two years later had so far mastered it that the Indians often said: "Our minister speaks our language better than we can speak it." It is interesting to note that Dr. Isaac Watts, of England, was so deeply interested in Sergeant's work that he and a few friends sent some seventy pounds to aid the mission. The Rev. Isaac Hollis, a Baptist minister of London, nephew of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard College, learning of Sergeant's work, offered to support twelve scholars under his care, from year to year. Samuel Holden, also of London, sent one hundred pounds for the benefit of the mission. So favorably were English people impressed with the Stockbridge plan that the Prince of Wales himself headed a subscription for the school with two hundred guineas, and dukes and lords and great men followed the royal example. A Mr. Ellery of Hartford, Conn., bequeathed one hundred and twenty pounds; and many contributions were made in Connecticut for this good work. The General Court of

[1] *Cf.* Hopkins, *Memoir Relating to the Housatonic Indians and the Rev. John Sergeant*, pp. 2, 5, 8.

Massachusetts Bay also favored the mission; providing a chapel and a schoolhouse, and incurring expense for the removal of people to the town. The rum-sellers were so close at hand and so troublesome in his first location that Sergeant in his second year, 1736, secured from the General Provincial Court the formal grant to the Indians of a township six miles square within the limits of Stockbridge, and the Indians at once began to remove to this new home. Previously they had moved about from place to place, in small groups, as seasons for fish or the chase invited. Sergeant himself settled at Stockbridge; and later Timothy Woodbridge joined him as assistant and schoolmaster. During his life at Stockbridge Sergeant visited the Indians in various parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and journeyed also to the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, more than two hundred miles away. His work began with a little over fifty Indians, but at his death, fifteen years later, in 1749, there were at Stockbridge over fifty-three families, numbering two hundred and eighteen souls, of whom one hundred and twenty-nine were baptized, and of these forty-two were communicants. Woodbridge's school averaged forty pupils. At that time the Indians were reclaimed for the most part from intemperance, and their bark wigwams had given place to well-built houses, like those of their white neighbors—of whom there were a dozen families resident there at Sergeant's death. The work of the mission thenceforth was interfered with by the French War in 1744, but was more seriously hindered by dissensions among the the white residents, one of whom had managed to get himself appointed as resident Director of the English Society. This man tried persistently to get control of the funds of the mission, as well as to establish members of his own family in various paying positions of the mission. He was the bitter enemy of anyone who did not fall in with his plans; and for years his greed and selfish stubbornness cost the mission would-be friends and helpers,

as well as patrons. After Mr. Sergeant's death, some ninety Mohawk Indians came from the neighborhood of Albany to live at Stockbridge, especially during the winter of 1750–51.

Jonathan Edwards, after leaving Northampton, was invited by the S. P. G. to become missionary at Stockbridge, and he was also invited by the church and congregation to become their minister. He began his work there in August, 1751, serving as both pastor and missionary for six years. At length the greed and bitter hostility of the aforesaid resident Director and his clique became bold and relentless enough to cost their own elimination, but only after the mission work had been seriously impaired; most of the Mohawks and many other Indians leaving the place in disgust or disappointment. In 1757 Edwards was called to succeed his son-in-law, Aaron Burr, as President of Princeton College, but only to die some two months after leaving Stockbridge.

Rev. Stephen West, a young man of twenty-three, was ordained at Stockbridge in 1759 as Edwards' successor; sixteen years later he gave up his work among the Indians, but remained the pastor of the white congregation there until his death sixty years later, in 1819.

John Sergeant, Jr., learned the Mohegan language as a boy at Stockbridge, and there also studied divinity with Dr. West, being thus peculiarly well-equipped as missionary preacher and teacher in the famous Stockbridge succession. Ten years later, 1785, Sergeant removed with his Indian colony to a reservation in New York State given by the Oneida Indians,—a tract of land six miles square,—to which the appropriate name of New Stockbridge was given. For a time the Indian preacher, Sampson Occum, was resident missionary for a part of this Mohegan colony, and here he died in 1792. In 1818, and again in 1822, the New Stockbridge Indians, separating into two colonies, removed

from New York to Indiana and to Wisconsin. Mr. Sergeant, physically unable to accompany either band, died in 1824, at the age of seventy-seven. It is interesting to note in this connection that Jonathan Edwards, Jr., was designed and dedicated by his great father as missionary to the Indians; and four years after coming to Stockbridge—a period usefully spent in learning the Mohawk language—he was in 1755, a ten-year-old boy, sent by his father with Rev. Gideon Hawley, to learn the language of the Oneidas at the Oughquauga Mission, on the upper Susquehanna, a little distance northeast of the present city of Binghamton, N. Y. A year later the outbreak of hostilities with the French and Indians compelled the desertion of this mission for the time; and both Hawley and young Edwards returned to Massachusetts, Hawley a little later accepting an invitation to the Mashpee Indian work begun by Bourne and Tupper in 1637; and, serving in this reservation, he remained till his death in 1807, fifty years later.

The Susquehanna mission, abandoned in 1756, was neglected for six years; but in 1762 the work there was resumed by the Rev. Eli Forbes, and a church was established. Gideon Hawley began his work as teacher at Stockbridge when twenty-five years old, under the supervision of Jonathan Edwards, then serving there as missionary pastor, and writing his great theological works. Some Indian families, Mohawks, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras, were drawn from their New York State homes to Stockbridge, especially to educate their children, and Hawley became their pastor as well as schoolmaster,—with Jonathan Edwards as a most cordial co-worker. In the winter these New York Indians profited by the schooling and Christian work at Stockbridge; but at other seasons of the year they returned to their homes in the Schoharie Valley to hunt and fish; and in this locality Hawley visited them in September, 1752. He no doubt designed by this visit to increase the number of his

Indian friends and enlarge the clientele of the Stockbridge school. Unfortunately, in February, 1753, the mission building at Stockbridge, where Hawley lodged, caught fire and burned to the ground, and most of Hawley's books and belongings were thus lost. This accident, however, had far less influence than the bitter Stockbridge dissensions in making Hawley decide to leave the following April for another field of Indian work, already referred to.[1]

In many respects the greatest of all the missionaries to the Iroquois Indians was the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who prepared himself for his life work by studying at Princeton, and later at Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Conn., where he studied the Indian language. Later Kirkland made a visit to Sir William Johnson, and entered upon a preliminary service of probation for some months among the Senecas of Western New York, among whom more than once he barely escaped the fate of the Jesuit fathers Jogues and Garnier. In 1764 he was sent out as missionary to the Oneidas, and established his mission near the site of the present college town of Clinton, New York. Nearly forty years Kirkland labored here, among the Oneidas, as their pastor, teacher, guardian, and friend To him it was due, under the Divine Spirit, more than to any other man, or company of men, that when the Revolutionary War began, the Oneida and the Tuscarora nations could not be turned against the patriot cause, even by their Iroquois brothers of the other nations. It has been well said that Kirkland's name is worthy to be grouped with the names of John Eliot and David Brainerd, as one of the brightest exponents of the missionary spirit which the history of the Church can furnish. Considering his varied labors and services during the Revolution, "he seems deserving of no less honor from his countrymen than many a military hero crowned with

[1] *Cf.* Thompson, *Prot. Miss.*, pp. 97–105; Sprague, *Annals, in loc.*, pp. 548 ff.; and Brown, *History of Missions*, ii, pp. 57 ff.

blood-bought laurels." From a tract of land given him by his Oneida friends, and confirmed to him by the Government, he granted by deed, in 1793, about three hundred acres of land in trust for the building of Hamilton-Oneida Academy. His design was—"laying the foundation, and supporting an academy contiguous to the Oneida nation, for the mutual benefit of the early settlers of the country, and the various tribes of confederate Indians." The deed was made out to Alexander Hamilton and fifteen others. The corner-stone of the building was laid by Baron Steuben. In 1812 the institution was removed to Clinton, N. Y., and was incorporated as Hamilton College.[1]

The remarkable record of the Moravians is largely due to the fact that from the early days of their Herrnhut life they realized that the evangelization of the world was the most pressing obligation of the Christian Church, and that the carrying out of this obligation was "the common affair" of the community. The proportion of the Moravian missionaries to their communicant members—a writer claims—at this time is as one to twelve;—while among English-speaking Christians generally the proportion is as one to two thousand. To the Moravians it seemed impossible that any branch of the Christian Church could continue to exist which failed to recognize this common obligation.[2] In 1734 the first Moravian missionary colony set out from Herrnhut to undertake work among the American Indians; it was conducted by Brothers John Toeltschig and Anthony Seyffart. So says Bishop Loskiel in his *History of Missions in America*. Count Zinzendorf gave them written instructions "to avoid all religious disputes, and always keep in view that call given unto them by God Himself, and preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen; and further, that they should endeavor, as much as possible, to earn their own bread." The Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg a little

[1] Cf. *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 20, 21. [2] Robinson, as cited, p. 50.

later joined the company, and the colony arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735. Coming at the invitation of the S. P. G., they were courteously received by Gov. James Oglethorpe, one of the directors of the Society, and provisions were made for their comfort and support, according to previous promise. Their number was afterward increased by the arrival of a larger company led by David Nitschmann. First came the establishment of a schoolhouse for Indian children of the Creek nation living in the neighborhood,—and about five miles above the city of Savannah, on an island in the river of the same name, called "Irene." Many Indians living in the vicinity gave the brethren opportunity to preach to the Indians of the Saviour who had died to ransom them from sin unto salvation. Many of these Creek Indians had a little knowledge of the English language, and heard the brethren gladly, and often brought their chief to hear "the great word." But the nearby Spaniards on the south ere long made war, trying to drive out the English from Georgia. The brethren were expected, and urged, but declined, to take up arms against the invader, frankly declaring that their religious principles prevented their using deadly weapons against anyone. Although they were exempted from taking part in this war, their neighbors were dissatisfied, and plainly showed their displeasure. A little later, therefore, on the outbreak of another war, the brethren repaid all money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations, and removed northward, to Pennsylvania, in 1740. In the same year, Brother John Hagen, in conformity with an agreement with Rev. George Whitefield made by the brethren, was sent to Georgia to assist Whitefield. Hagen repeatedly tried to begin Christian work among the Indians, but found both Creeks and Cherokees too busy with war to listen to his preaching. While being extravagantly fond of brandy, the Indians seemed to realize faintly the great moral injury done them

by white liquor-sellers; and consequently they professed to abhor all white men. Although Hagen did the best he could in ministering to the diseased and dying Cherokees at Savannah, and although he at one time planned to make the long overland journey of more than three hundred miles to the Cherokee country, that he might live among them, and learn their language, he finally gave up the plan; partly because of the rumor of havoc made by smallpox among the Cherokees, but chiefly because of the Indians' bitter dislike for all palefaces. Soon also he gave up his work in Savannah and vicinity, and returned to Philadelphia.

George Whitefield had purchased five thousand acres of land in the Forks of the Delaware, the present Northampton County of Pennsylvania, that he might build a school for negroes, and also found a village for Englishmen in danger from the harsh laws against insolvent debtors. Since a number of the Moravians whom he met in Philadelphia were carpenters, he offered to engage them all to do his carpenter work, and desired Peter Boehler to superintend the erection of his projected building. The offer was accepted; and after a toilsome journey of three days on foot, the little company of Moravians, seven men, two women, and two boys, reached the site of the present Nazareth, and held their first religious service. Two days later a site for the school was selected, and having put up a loghouse for themselves, the Moravians began to build Whitefield's school. All went well for a time, but later, when Boehler went to Philadelphia, to report progress to Whitefield, the two became involved in a very earnest doctrinal controversy, in which it is said that Whitefield after a time lost his temper, and ordered Boehler and his people off his land at once. This, however, was plainly impracticable, for winter was at hand; so, through friendly interposition a temporary stay of sentence was secured. A little later, by wise diplomacy, Bishop Spangenberg purchased five hundred acres at the

junction of the Lehigh and the Monocacy, the site of the present city of Bethlehem. The next spring, 1741, a log-house was completed, and in it lived the founders of Bethlehem. In December of the same year came Count Zinzendorf to America, anxious to do everything possible to build up the kingdom of God in the new world. He was hopeful also of accomplishing something definite in bringing together the several denominational branches, all of them weak, yet all sufficiently alike to warrant in Zinzendorf's mind the union of them all in one church.

While in this country Zinzendorf made three extended visits or tours of exploration to the Indian country. First of these, July 24th to August 7th, was to the region beyond the Blue Mountains. On this journey Zinzendorf, as the head of the Moravian Church, ratified a covenant of friendship with the Iroquois Indians, and secured "permission for the Brethren to pass to and from, and to sojourn within, the domains of the great Iroquois Confederacy as friends and not as strangers." The second journey was to Shekomeko, Dutchess Co., N. Y. At this place a mission had been established two years before by Christian Henry Rauch, who had accompanied certain Mohegans home from New York. The appeal of Spangenberg to Moravians in the homeland in behalf of the Indians had brought across the ocean this devoted Christian, who soon after landing in New York met these Indians, and resolved to bring the Gospel to them. Privation, danger from the Indians when intoxicated, threats and persecution could not daunt the young hero, and in two years he had the joy of baptizing his first three converts.

Zinzendorf, during his visit to Shekomeko, on August 22, 1742, organized a congregation consisting of ten Indian converts. His third journey, September 24th to November 9th, was from Bethlehem to Sunbury, and northward to the Wyoming Valley. It has been claimed that his party

was the first white party to explore this beautiful region. As a missionary tour this journey resulted in very little good, and at times Zinzendorf was in great danger from suspicious and murderous Shawnees.

The faith and fearlessness of young Rauch had from the first compelled the admiration, and soon the confidence and love of the worst drunkards of the Indian community at Shekomeko. Soon Butner and Mack, with Pyrlæus and Senseman and their wives came to extend the work at Shekomeko into Connecticut. In one place whites as well as Indians attended the preaching of Mack, and in another Butner was gladdened by many conversions among the Indians. By the end of 1743 Shekomeko numbered sixty-three baptized Indians. As might have been expected the evil-minded whites, rum-sellers and rum-drinkers and loose characters, became alarmed at the growth of Gospel interest, and determined to drive out the Moravians, that the Indians might be at their mercy to defraud and debauch as formerly.

They circulated the story that the Shekomeko Moravians were papists in disguise, and were secret emissaries of the French. When required by the authorities to clear themselves of suspicion by taking the oath of allegiance to King George, they declined to swear an oath, because this was against their conscientious convictions, but offered to make solemn affirmation. But the New York Assembly in September made the oath of allegiance obligatory, and the Moravians were compelled to leave their work. Zeisberger and Post at Canojaharie, endeavoring to learn the Mohawk language, a little later were arrested by officers of the law, and on refusing to make oath suffered in jail in New York for seven weeks, until released through the friendly intervention of the governor of Pennsylvania. The missionaries had urged their Indian converts at Shekomeko to leave their homes and emigrate to the Susquehanna Valley, where they would provide a home for them; but for some time the

Indians refused, until the hostility of the whites became so bitter that they also were glad to seek another home.

When the Shekomeko Indians came to Pennsylvania, the Moravian brethren dared not locate them in the Wyoming Valley, because of the hostile activity of the French Indians; so after a brief stay near Bethlehem, they established them on land at the junction of the Lehigh and Mahony, and called the settlement Gnadenhütten; and in two years' time the number of converts in care of the mission numbered five hundred. Not long after the defeat of Braddock in July of 1755, the emboldened Indians made war by their favorite methods on the scattered and outlying settlements, and the mission at Gnadenhütten was broken up, eleven persons out of fifteen being massacred in one house, and the converts in the larger station, being forbidden by the missionaries to render violence for violence, fled with their teachers to Bethlehem. There the "brown hearts" were cared for by the brethren for a year; then a new village was built for them at Nain, a mile up the Lehigh from Bethlehem, and a second village, Wechquadnach, on a tributary of the Lehigh still farther up.

The times grew worse, and it became necessary to build a stockade around Bethlehem, and fortify it against attack, for the brethren did not believe in leaving their wives and children defenseless before the hostile savages. The Indian converts were used as pickets, and were instructed to shoot at a prowling spy on sight, but to aim at his lower limbs, and frighten him off, and not to kill him. Both Nazareth and Bethlehem were crowded by incoming settlers and refugees, and the brethren found their hands full in protecting and caring for all these applicants for shelter and defense and food. That the faith and fearlessness of the Moravians had due moral effect upon the hostiles appears from their saying after the close of hostilties, "If the Great God were not the God of the Brethren, we should have made an end of the

whites." And their trust in God and watchfulness against the enemy resulted in their safety; for though hostile Indians were within six miles of Nazareth at one time, the Moravian settlements escaped attack. When peace came in 1759, a tract of fourteen hundred acres was purchased by the brethren for their Indian friends beyond the Blue Mountains, and the missionary Senseman with his band of thirty baptized Indians founded the new mission, Wechquetank; and later came a band of thirty-five in search of light.

After the disaster of Braddock's defeat in 1755, the work of the Bethlehem Moravians among the Indians became increasingly difficult and dangerous. The hostile Indians of Central and Northern Pennsylvania not only raided the outlying white settlements, slaying, destroying, and carrying captive, but they also craftily and persistently tried to corrupt the Delaware converts of the Moravians. These Christian Indians, however, with very few exceptions, continued peaceable, law-abiding, and industrious; but they were fearful because of the unconcealed dislike and suspicion of the hostile whites, even more than because of the threatened vengeance of the hostile Indians.

Most of the Pennsylvania colonists, whether living in cities, villages, small hamlets, or solitary and remote farms, regarded the Indians, each and everyone, whatever the tribe, age, or sex, as cruel and treacherous: to them *all* Indians were necessarily and incurably *bad* Indians. And naturally the Moravians, who especially gave themselves to work for Indian welfare and improvement, for that very reason were disliked and distrusted by many, and by others were hated, misrepresented, and slandered. In time, notwithstanding the pleas and explanations of the Moravians, people of the city and the countryside alike denounced and antagonized the Moravians, as well as their red converts. There was some little change in public feeling after the massacre on the Mahony in 1775; this calamity convinced

some of the more sensible colonists of the integrity of the Moravians, as well as the sincerity of their missionary motive (foolish and fantastic as that motive seemed to them); and so they showed a little more consideration for the Indian disciples gathered by the Moravians for safety in their settlements at Bethlehem, Nain, and Nazareth. These Moravian towns, although frequently threatened, were never attacked by hostile Indians in the half-dozen years of war that followed, although farms and villages were destroyed, and many people were killed or carried away captive, in Central and Eastern Pennsylvania; and this fact of Moravian immunity from Indian attack, while other communities suffered, led the former doubters again to doubt and denounce both the Moravians and their disciples, and led the always unfriendly colonists to clamor loudly for the destruction of the Moravian Indians. The growing hostility and hatred led the Moravians at last to appeal to the State authorities for protection of their wards and their work.

Bringing the Indians down to Philadelphia was urged by Governor Penn as the surest, indeed the only feasible, State protection that could be given. The Brethren approving this policy, the missionaries Zeisberger, Grube, and others accompanied the Indians to this place of refuge. With their coming, Hamilton says:

> Excitement ran high in the city. Members of the Society of Friends, setting aside their peace principles in the conflict of duties, took arms to defend their charges against whom the frontiersmen swore vengeance. For a time the lives of the missionaries and their converts appeared to be in serious danger.[1]

Providentially the threatened attacks failed; but the supply arrangements at Province Island, the summer quarantine of the port, were exceedingly poor, and the defenses were inadequate; so the helpless refugees were transported across

[1] *Moravian Missions*, pp. 48, 49.

Jersey, only to be denied the military protection promised as well as sought in New York City; and they were compelled to return to Philadelphia. For sixteen months these Christian Indians endured a sickly, anxious, threatened, pitiful experience in their "internment"; fifty-six of their number died; but at least they were defended from violence by the State and City authorities. In 1765, after their release from "virtual imprisonment," some eighty Indians, under the leadership of Zeisberger and Schmick, journeyed far northwesterly into the wilds of Pennsylvania, on the invitation of the Indian chief Papunhank, a baptized convert, to establish the mission of Friedeshuetten, in the beautiful and sheltered valley at the junction of the Wyalusing and the Susquehanna. This mission work prospered steadily for some years, so that a larger place of worship was built in 1767. That same year Zeisberger, being by nature as well as by appointment a pioneer, left the mission with two assistants, and pushed on to Venango County in northwestern Pennsylvania, and began Gospel work at the notorious Indian town of Goschgoschuenk. Finding ere long that the locality fully justified its reputation, Zeisberger moved a few miles up the Alleghany River; for some time this mission prospered, until the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1770, when it was decided to accept the truly timely invitation of the old chief Glikikan, and remove to the Tuscarawas Valley in Eastern Ohio. From this time Zeisberger entered upon his larger life-work and most notable missionary successes: one after the other, Friedenstadt, Schoenbrunn, Lichtenau, a later Gnadenhuetten and Goshen were established, and each had a measure of growth and divine blessing.

The later years of the Revolutionary War, however, brought peculiar hardships to these Ohio missions. In 1782 the Moravian teachers and a majority of their Indians were brought under arrest before the British military officer

at Fort Sandusky, to answer various charges and complaints; but in time the Moravians fully satisfied the English officer of their honorable neutrality, and were released. Just about this time ninety Christian Indians at the Gnadenhuetten and Salem missions were treacherously deceived and disarmed, and then brutally butchered by the infamous Colonel David Williamson and his ruffian band of one hundred and fifty so-called Americans.

Zeisberger and his fellow-Moravians suffered even worse than the usual fate of defenseless neutrals, who by pathetic misfortune are caught between enemies on the north and enemies on the south, and are ground as between the upper and nether millstones; for, while sincerely trying to be loyal and friendly to each side, they are suspected and disliked, and often are brutally treated by both sides. But with noble and self-sacrificing fidelity to their principles and their beloved "brown hearts" these Moravians gave themselves wholly to their poor, frightened, reviled, persecuted Indians; ever trying to keep them true in conduct and spirit to the peace-loving Prince of Peace, no matter how deeply suffering, or harshly driven from place to place, or insultingly tolerated for a time by unwilling neighbors. From 1782–1786 among the Chippewas of Eastern Michigan, in Macomb County, thirty miles north of Detroit, in their third Gnadenhuetten mission station; then for a year at Pilgerruh, on the Cuyahoga River, a little south of the city of Cleveland; then for four years at New Salem, near the present town of Huron, a few miles east of Sandusky; then for a year at the mouth of the Detroit River, on the Canadian shore; and then for some few years of comparative peace and prosperity at Fairfield, on the Thames River in Western Ontario, nearly a hundred miles east of Detroit;—continuously, in all the sojourns, wanderings, privations and persecutions of these Christianized Delawares, David Zeisberger, like another St. Paul, "shepherded his trustful,

loving, lessening flock until his death in 1808, after sixty-two years of patient, persistent, Christlike ministry to the distrusted and despised Indians.[1]

It would be interesting—if space permitted—to sketch the kindly relations of the "Friends" with the Indians, even from their first coming in the last half of the eighteenth century. Their beloved apostle, George Fox, as the result of his experiences with various Indian tribes in his extended travels along the Atlantic seaboard, from the Carolinas to Rhode Island, urged his followers repeatedly, by word and by letters, to befriend and evangelize the Indians; so that it seemed to be a matter of individual faith and religious practice with the Friends to be truly neighborly and brotherly with them; and yet vigorous, and concerted, and aggressive missionary work among the Red Men by the Friends began only with the nineteenth century. This may seem strange; but it will be remembered that for a long time the Friends made their Christian practice, as well as their Christian testimony, wholly a matter of individual initiative and impulse; each person conceiving himself under divine constraint to speak his message, and do his duty, without any reference whatever to the sayings and doings of his fellows. This would be a truly ideal method under ideal spiritual conditions; but in actual life it is a method that must shortly fail of the highest missionary efficiency for the community, even though there may be here and there individuals as consecrated, and lovable, and self-sacrificing as George Fox or John Woolman.

It is, however, to the perpetual honor of the Friends that, with the single exception of "The Walking Purchase" (for which indeed the Friends were not responsible), they were always the upright, kindly and generous brothers of the Red Man, "Friends" in the very highest sense; at times

[1] See *Histories by Bishops Loskiel and Hamilton;* also Dr. William Brown's *History of Missions*, vol. i, pp. 260 ff.

ready even to use rifle, bayonet, and sword in defense of their persecuted and threatened Indian brothers. The "Ogden Land Company" would certainly have defrauded the Iroquois Senecas of the greater part of their lands in Western New York, had it not been for the fearless and persistent "publicity campaign" of prominent Pennsylvania Friends; which finally led the Government to render justice to the Indians. Friends also were chiefly responsible for President Grant's famous "Peace Policy," in both its beginning and its carrying out, which brought prosperity as well as peace to both Indians and white settlers of the West for nearly eight years.[1]

Would that I might sketch briefly the beginnings of the Methodist Foreign Missionary Society's work in 1819, due directly,—under the guiding influence of the Holy Spirit,—to the consecrated work of John Stewart, a colored man (and in liquor when converted), and the one-time dissipated Poynter, among the Wyandot Indians of Northern Ohio; or of the contemporaneous early work of Baptist missionaries among the Miamis of Northern Indiana and the Ottawas of Southern Michigan, and of Baptist teachers among the Choctaws of Kentucky only a little later; and of Blackburn, Hall and Williams, Kingsbury and Butrick, and their courageous and sanguine missionary beginnings among the Cherokees of Southern Tennessee in 1804 and the years following, and their immediate and continuous successes among both Cherokees and Choctaws up to the time of the removal of the four great tribes, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, by the United States War Department to Indian Territory in 1831; and also of the labors of Worcester, and Welles and Butler among these Indians of southern Tennessee and northern Georgia and Mississippi,—their continued successes, their admirable courage and persistence, their inspiring and defiant disregard to hostile

[1] See Kelsey's *Friends and the Indians.*

traders, rum-sellers, greedy prospectors, obsequious small-bore politicians, and fiercely-determined *white heathen* of various classes, and their heroic endurance of persecution, slander, violence, and imprisonment at the hands of the citizens and the courts and authorities of Georgia, which very nearly brought about bloody conflict, as well as prolonged controversy, between the United States Government and the state of Georgia, till finally the missionaries accepted pardon and release from confinement rather than force secession and rebellion thirty years before they did come;—but this instructive and fascinating story is barred from this account of missionary work among the American Indians, because it belongs wholly to the nineteenth century, rather than to the eighteenth century.

It is difficult to judge fairly those early American communities in our day, and from our point of vantage, or perhaps one might better say, of disadvantage. To our hurried reading of history they seem to have been essentially inhuman and barbarous,—when we read of them that they so feared and hated the neighbor savages that some of the more thoughtless ones said, "The only *good Indian* is a *dead Indian!*" "If you can't honorably kill him, *sell* the Indian into *slavery*, when you get him."

But really have we so very far advanced in our everyday standards of justice and Christianity? When I lived in a Home Missionary home of the Western Iowa prairies, and before I was ten years of age, Indians were often around us, coming and going, and frequent visitors in the neighborhood. Even as a boy I often heard it said, and saw it on the printed page, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian!" Yet no Indian ever injured us or our neighbors, or thieved from us, or did anything else than mind his own business. But some people *then* could snarl out that savage saying with fervent unction. And even during this very year of grace, 1916, we know that there are highly civilized, and

professedly Christian people who believe that "The only good Englishman is a dead Englishman!" And there are others, also highly civilized, and professedly Christian, who savagely declare, "The only *good Turk* is a *dead* Turk!" Let us not forget that wartime, and being in the very midst of the alarms and awful contests of wartime, will soon make suspicious, crafty, and bloodthirsty savages of us all! When we, and our dear ones, and our neighbors, suffer wrong, or agonizing and tempestuous fears, we can very quickly grow hard and brutal.

Whatever may be urged as to the harsh dealings of the American Colonists with the hostile Indians in New England States, or Middle States, or Southern States,—the relentless warfare waged against the irreconcilables, the burning of their wigwams, and the frequent enslaving of the younger bucks and squaws captured,—this at least let us bear in mind: that the projectors, as well as the pioneers of both Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies earnestly *planned* the Christianizing of the Indians; and this for long years the best people of Old England, as well as New England, sought faithfully to *carry forward* not merely before, but during and after, the various Indian Wars of Colonial Times.

The Council of Constance: Its Fame and its Failure

By

David Schley Schaff

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE: ITS FAME AND ITS FAILURE

By David Schley Schaff, Professor of Church History, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(*The Presidential Address, read December 28, 1917*)

VAN DER HARDT significantly entitled his voluminous collection of documents bearing on the Council of Constance, *Magnum œcumenicum Constantiense concilium*[1] —the Great Œcumenical Council of Constance. The recent Catholic historian Funk pronounced it to be "*eine der grossartigsten Kirchenversammlungen welche die Geschichte kennt*"—one of the most imposing church assemblies known to history. In my own judgment, the council which assembled in Constance (1414) was, upon the whole, not only one of the most imposing of church œcumenical councils but perhaps the most imposing assembly of any sort which has ever met on the soil of Western Europe. In its sessions the urgent questions were discussed which agitated to its foundations Western Christendom during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. The Council had on it the smell of the Middle Ages and at the same time it felt the breath of the age about to open. It was an ecclesiastical synod and yet it had much of the swing of a democratic assembly. It was the first approach to a free religious parliament in which the lay element had recognition at the side of the clerical element. The two elements, mediæval and modern,

[1] In six volumes, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1696–1700. Hermann van der Hardt was professor of Hebrew and librarian at Helmstädt.

strictly clerical and lay, had representation in its two places of meeting, the Cathedral, the temple of religion, and the Kaufhaus, the board of trade. The assembly was an ecclesiastical body, called to settle ecclesiastical questions; Constance was an imperial city, one of the centers of the North Alpine traffic. The questions discussed were of church administration and doctrinal purity, but the voting was done by national groups, "nations," a wide departure from the habit of restricting the voting to the bishops, as at the Council of Nice, 325 A.D., and later councils.

The express business for which the Council was called was declared to be twofold—to secure the union of the Church by healing the papal schism and to reform the Church *in capite et membris*. Its fame and failure are derived from the personal constituency of the Council, and the great questions it settled or failed to settle.

I. *The Personal Element.*—From the standpoint of the humanities the Council of Constance is of all the councils the most noteworthy. To get anything comparable in this respect we would have to go back to the synod of 325 A.D., at which Constantine was conspicuous. In this case the personalities are remote and the discussions largely metaphysical. On the other hand, the personal elements brought together in the Swiss city have a modern appearance. They represent all phases of life and opinion in Europe—all ranks and all conditions, prelatic and princely, religious and secular; all types, theological and practical. No modern journalist could dream of a more notable group of personages or a more continued series of sensational happenings. Richenthal's pen did for the Council what Boswell did for Dr. Johnson and Baillie for the Westminster Assembly. Constance offered the next thing to a modern world exposition. The Council was the chief spectacle Europe had witnessed since the days of the Crusades, and all compacted and visible within the streets

of the town washed by the Swiss lake and cut in two by the river Rhine. The population of 5,000 was suddenly increased to 80,000 or 100,000, a teeming company of living men hailing from all parts, from Constantinople to Scotland, men of all conditions from the most eminent personalities to the huckster,—emperor and pope, cardinals and princes, patriarchs and barons, learned doctors from the universities, theological, legal, medical, 759 of them, and real advocates of heretical depravity, bankers—among them young Cosimo dei Medici—and bakers, 142 writers of bulls and 1700 fiddlers and buglers, goldsmiths, traffickers from East and West. The reporters gave way to the modern itch for statistics. There were 36,000 beds for strangers, 700 women of the street and a countless number who plied their trade in secret and whom Richenthal assures us he did not attempt to enumerate. Five thousand rode in and out of the city every day; and during the sessions of the Council five hundred found a premature death by drowning. To prevent profiteering, the prices were fixed at which food might be sold. To avoid congestion, chains were drawn across streets, and to assure peace and security, the hour of getting off the streets was fixed. St. Jean d'Acre on the coast of Syria, in the days of Philip Augustus of France and Richard the Lion-Hearted, was a tame provincial affair compared with the conciliar town where the tedium of serious discussion was relieved by tournaments, dances, processions, shows, and other surprising daily excitements. One half of his Chronicle Richenthal gives up to a directory of personages, noting down the lodgings of the more eminent and giving a list of their coats of arms.

The tourist and student of to-day stands in the very cathedral where Gerson and Zabarella and Fillastre and d'Ailli stood and spoke, where the emperor frequently sat with crown on his head, and where also the soul of John Huss was solemnly turned over to the devil. He looks upon the

very Kaufhaus where the new pope was elected, the Dominican tower and Gottlieben where Huss was imprisoned, the houses marked by bronze tablets in which Huss and Jerome lodged, and the street along which they went to the stake outside the city. I do not now recall a city to which a single incident has given so great a distinction.

At this Council was John XXIII, once a corsair and now recognized by the larger part of Europe as rightful head of Christendom. As he approached the city, sitting on a white palfrey and accompanied by nine cardinals and sixteen hundred horsemen, it was noted that the country had the appearance of being a good place to catch foxes, a prophecy, as the chronicler thought, of John's own entrapment and his official undoing about to ensue. His lodging place had been furnished with twelve barrels of wine. His abdication, flight, imprisonment, and deposition are preserved in vivid pictorial description.

Here is Sigismund, the emperor about to be, fresh from his crowning at Aachen, and compared in his time with David and Daniel. He has busied himself much to secure the call of the Council from the pope and participation in it by the different European nations. He represented it as a matter of studious care—*solicitudinis curæ nostræ*. He had corresponded about this Council with Manuel, Emperor of the Greeks, and said to him that there might well be two emperors—Manuel, Emperor of the East and himself, Emperor of the Western world, thus belittling the claim of his own predecessor, Charlemagne, to be sole heir of the old Roman Emperors and setting aside the theory of Gregory VII and Innocent III concerning the two luminaries set to rule over this earthly sphere.[1] What, if at the meeting of John and Sigismund at Cremona to arrange for the Council the official of the city had done what he afterwards expressed

[1] Sigismund wrote to Manuel in the summer of 1414. See the interesting letters, Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanc.*, i, p. 397.

the wish he had done, thrown them both down from the great Torrazzo tower which the two potentates had ascended under his guidance.

In reading Richenthal's description you can almost feel the chill of that Christmas Eve five hundred and three years ago when Sigismund, long expected and just arrived, proceeded to the Cathedral and, clad in a dalmatic, joined in the long Christmas service, his fair, tall queen Barbara with him, daughter of the Styrian count, her gallantries soon to become the talk of the town,—"illustrious Barbara," as Sigismund called her in a letter to Henry IV of England. And this service concluded by the generous act of John XXIII conferring a sword upon the royal worshiper as the "advocate and defender of the Church."

There were the men of eloquence and learning from France —d'Ailli and Gerson and others whom Richenthal calls *Schulpfaffen*, men of the desk. There were the twelve prelates of the English and Scotch delegation who arrived in the city accompanied by 700 or 800 splendidly mounted horsemen, with the bishop of Winchester, the king's uncle, and Hallum, bishop of Chichester, at their head, and preceded by a band of musicians, making, as the same journalist is particular to note, a sensation on its arrival.

Those chiefs of heretics, Huss and Jerome, were the center of the Bohemian groups, in part friendly to them and in part united in bitter opposition. There were Zabarella, the leading canonist of his time, Cardinal-archbishop of Florence, and Cardinal Fillastre, dean of Rheims, no less influential. Two claimants of the papacy are not there but figure largely in the proceedings, Gregory XII, who sent in his resignation, and old Benedict XIII, who held back in proud reserve at Perpignan in Spain,—their common names Angelo Correr and Peter de Luna, or *Errorius* and *Maledictus*, as Nieheim persisted in calling them.

Tracts and pamphlets were flying about. A new era in

conciliar debate seemed to have come. Doctors of theology and of law and princes were admitted to the voting at the side of bishops and cardinals. This the University of Paris had urged. Indeed, Fillastre pleaded for the inclusion of clerics of the lowest rank, "for why," he argued, "should an abbot with ten monks under his control have a place in the assembly and a rector having a thousand or ten thousand souls be excluded?"[1]

The good was not unmingled with the bad and, commenting upon the reports which had come to him through the prison walls, Huss declared: "This council is a scene of foulness, for among the Swiss the saying runs that a generation will not be sufficient to clear Constance from the sins which the Council has committed,"—the very worst of these sins being the sentence of death about to be pronounced on Huss himself.

II. *The Papal Schism Healed.*—We turn now to the discussions and acts of the Council. If the papal theory of the government of the Church be the right one, then in the reunion of Western Christendom under one supreme pontiff the Council accomplished a performance as beneficent as it was notable. The residence of the popes for seventy years in Avignon, where no apostle ever preached or was buried, was a calamity bad enough. The papal schism following the death of Gregory XI was worse. To the Archbishop of Bari, Urban VI, elected as Gregory's successor, was given an opportunity to inaugurate a new era such as has seldom been given to mortal man, an opportunity stupidly abused. It was not many months until Urban with Rome as his seat was opposed by Clement VII residing on the banks of the Rhone. Two popes, claiming to be the legal successors of St. Peter, divided the obedience of Latin Christendom and fulminated, the one against the other, apostolical curses. The Council of Pisa only added to the

[1] Denifle, *Chartularium*, i, p. 620.

confusion when it elected a third pope, Alexander V; for, as it turned out, John XXIII, the second in the Pisan line, happened to be a man stained with every crime.

In view of the history of the papacy during the century following Boniface VIII—the century of the Avignon popes and papal schism—it came to be doubted whether the papacy was necessary to the existence of the Church. Writing to Clement VII, the University of Paris referred to this doubt when it reported that many did not hesitate to say publicly that it made no difference how many popes there were, two or three or ten or twelve, or even a distinct pope for each nation.[1]

This singular spectacle in the history of the apostolic see started discussions in regard to the nature of the Church, the quality of its unity, and the final source of authority on earth. Ockam's contention that the seat of authority is in the *unitas fidelium*—the body of Christians—and not in the pope, had a thoughtful hearing. Marsiglius of Padua demanded for laymen a place on the floor of councils, and Philip IV before him had reminded the pope that the Church was in part made up of laymen. Even so stiff a churchman as d'Ailli in 1409 declared: "The Church's unity does not necessarily depend upon papal unity or originate with it." The publicists of Paris, Peter Plaoul and Peter Leroy, openly asserted that Jesus Christ is the Lord of His Church and its only head. Christ did not say, "feed your sheep" but "feed my sheep."[2] In his denunciation of Gregory XI as a *horrendus diabolus* and vicar of the fiend, and in insisting that popes may be among the reprobate, Wyclif expressed the new thought that was seeking utterance. A half century before, Dante had put popes into hell. In insisting upon the Scriptures as the final seat of authority Wyclif and Huss did much to unsettle the old ideas.

[1] *Chartularium* iii, p. 633.

[2] Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, pp. 346 note, 347.

Two of the three ways proposed by the University of Paris, 1394, for removing the schism proved impracticable, inasmuch as the papal claimants refused either to resign or to submit their claims to an arbiter. The only mode of reducing the number of popes to a single one and restoring unity was found to be through a general council. The proposal of a council made by the University of Paris and other universities, by Konrad of Gelnhausen in his two tracts, and by other theologians and canonists of Europe, had been received with abusive denunciation by Benedict's confessor, John Hayton, who "pronounced the University of Paris a daughter of Satan, mother of error, sower of sedition and the pope's defamer." The pope may not be forced by human tribunal. He is subject alone to God and his own conscience.

The Council of Pisa, called by the cardinals of both obediences, meeting in 1408, gave hope of solving the matter but proved a complete disappointment. The Council's act deposing Gregory XII and Benedict XIII as "notorious schismatics and heretics" was ignored by the papal claimants, The Council's further act in electing a pope of its own only added, as events proved, to the papal complication already existing. There were now three popes.

At the Synod of Sutri in 1046 under the control of Henry III a like situation existed. This situation was cleared up by the resignation of one pope, the deposition of the second, and abdication of the third, and the consequent election or appointment of Clement III. At Constance one pope resigned and two were deposed. John XXIII had the right instinct when he resisted as long as he could Sigismund's urgency that a council be called. In sending out the call, he was hazarding his own pontificate. Had John's character been such that friends could have defended him, he might have retained the tiara. But the criminalcareer of Balthazar Cossa the papal robes were not able to cover, and

as soon as the Italian pamphlet appeared in Constance accusing him of the worst offenses of all sorts against God and man, his case was not worth the arguing.

As for Sigismund, that distinguished prince needed no persuasion to let things take their natural course. He was "a king," said Æneas Sylvius, a contemporary whose keen eye saw deep into men's souls, "a king who could not keep his word, made more promises than he kept and often descended to deception." It was a sight to call the galleries to their feet when John, in offering his resignation, read a part of it on his knees, and Sigismund, removing his royal crown, stooped down and kissed the pontiff's feet. The moving humility of John's act would have been more trustworthy, had he not made his abdication conditional upon the resignation of Gregory and Benedict. John had a well-founded hope, based upon the previous conduct of the two other papal claimants, that they would scarcely agree to what he required. However, Constance took John's statement seriously when five days later he issued a bull confirming his resignation. The bells rang out the glad news and all Constance had a holiday.

John's flight on a little horse, at the time when everybody else was off enjoying the festivities connected with a tournament, is one of the comic episodes in papal annals. Perhaps John's excuse was not without warrant that the flight had been prompted by fear of Sigismund. At any rate there was some hope of his now rallying the Italian party around him and of perhaps securing support from France. The reporter is nowhere more entertaining than in his description of John's adventures, flitting from Swiss hamlet to Swiss hamlet, and finally let down from a window when he was seized.

The present owner of Gottlieben, Baron Fabri, pointed out to me the part of the building in which, after being brought back to Constance, John was probably held,—the

part directly across from the tower where John Huss at the same time was confined and held in chains. This was one of the remarkable juxtapositions of personages in history —two men so different in spirit and in conduct, and also so different in their end, the perjured pope to be restored to favor and to die as a cardinal and Huss burned as a criminal.

The second impediment to papal unity was removed, when Gregory, following, as he announced, "a long desire to bring about union and peace in the holy Church of God and heal the *horrenda schismata*," yielded up the papacy and "all its rights, titles, and privileges conferred on it by the Lord Jesus Christ."

The third claimant, Benedict XIII, remained immovable in the face of the Council, the visit of the Emperor Sigismund, the defection of his own cardinals, and the demand of Christendom. His tenacity was worthy of a better issue. The only concession he was willing to make seemed on its face to be reasonable enough. The election of the new pontiff, he proposed, should be left to him as the only cardinal remaining whose appointment dated to the time prior to the schism. The Council did not venture to entertain the proposal. It would have run the risk of Benedict's choosing himself, and Benedict's deposition was proceeded with at the Council's thirty-seventh session in 1417.

The slate was now clear and the way open for the election of the new pope, Oddo Colonna, who took the name Martin V. The Kaufhaus was fitted up for the novel use of a papal election, its space divided into cells and walled up, one of the three keys being given to the Emperor. Thirty deputies of the "nations" and twenty-three cardinals united in the election. The very birds on the venerable building joined in hailing the restoration of unity in the papal administration of the Church. When the electors entered upon their work, its roof was full of jackdaws and ravens, but, as soon as the new pontiff was

chosen, these birds of ill omen fled in dismay and thousands of green finches and other songsters took their places, hopping about and chirping as if to applaud the happy event.

With Martin V's consecration, November 21, 1517, a new era in the history of the papacy was opened. When the pope left Constance his horse's bridles were held by two princes. Two years later he was fixed in Rome as once more the permanent residence of the supreme pontiff. Felix V, raised up by the Council of Basel as anti-pope, resigned a few years after his election, and the Avignon succession ran out when Benedict's successor, Egidio Munoz —Clement VIII—was induced to give up his hopeless pretension and accept the see of Minorca. For five hundred years there has been no interruption in the unbroken unity of the papacy. The Council had accomplished a lasting work.

It would be little more than a school debate, if we were to discuss the right of the Council of Constance to pass upon popes the sentence of deposition, to accept their resignations, and to elect a pope. Nicholas II had formally assigned papal elections to the college of cardinals. On occasion the rule was set aside, but it was reaffirmed by Gregory X. The position argued at length, at the time of the Council of Constance and also before it convened, by Gerson and other writers, was that the Church may depose a pope for heresy or loss of his mental powers or even in case he be a prisoner in the hands of the Saracens. If œcumenical councils be defined as the highest representative of ecclesiastical power on earth, then the election of a pope and his deposition would seem to be within their province. The strict advocate of the pope's supremacy, however, would reply that œcumenical councils possess no such power; that John XXIII and Benedict XIII were pretenders, and Gregory XII was the legal pontiff and in the regular line. His resignation

was by virtue of his supreme power. It was nothing more than an announcement whose validity depended in no wise upon the mind or action of the Council. As for the choice of Martin V, Nicholas' law relegating papal elections, to the college of cardinals is a canonical enactment which may be set aside in cases of supreme emergency.

III. *Conciliar Authority.*—The Council's second noteworthy action was the decree bearing on the final seat of authority within the Church on earth. At its fourth and fifth sessions, held in March and April, 1415, it declared that being

> a synod legally assembled in the Holy Spirit at Constance, forming a general council and representing the Catholic Church, the most holy Synod had immediate authority from Christ and that all persons of every rank and condition, the pope included, were bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, the removal of the schism, and the reformation of the Church.

With confidence the Council proceeded to deal with John XXIII and the other popes. Although convoked by John, its continuance, it declared, depended not on his presence.

Gregory the Great had shown his estimate of œcumenical councils by placing the first four councils on a level with the four Gospels; but Innocent III and Boniface VIII represented the theory that, as the vicar of Christ, the pontiff is supreme and his authority absolute. By the Council's self-assertions the conciliar theory seemed to have triumphed. Boniface VIII and his successors had given grounds enough why the theory of papal supremacy should be abandoned. Their autocratic arrogance and the simony they practiced started a free discussion on the nature of the Church and the final seat of authority in the Church militant. Ockam declared that the Church might be reduced to a single member, a woman, as in the case of Mary at the cross, and habitually used the term *congregatio fidelium* for *ecclesia universalis*.

Marsiglius of Padua, pronounced by popes the most abandoned of heretics, defended the theory of conciliar supremacy and the appearance of his *Defensor pacis* in French translation in Paris, 1375, was made the subject of papal investigation. These powerful publicists were followed by Konrad of Gelnhausen, professor in Paris and Heidelberg, who insisted that in cases of emergency councils were superior to the pope and called on the king of France to summon an œcumenical council.

In his famous sermon at Tarascon, 1404, Gerson defended the view that the keys are given to the *unitati ecclesiæ*,[1] the totality of the Church, and that a general council representing it cannot err, views he defended at a later time in his tracts and on the floor of the Council of Constance especially on March 23 and July 21, 1415. "The gates of hell," he declared, "had prevailed against popes but not against the Church."[2] His words ran, that God had freed His Church from the pestiferous and most pernicious doctrine that *auctoritas papalis supra concilium est*—the papacy is above general councils; Joseph was placed to guard his master's wife, not to debauch her. Nieheim, representing the same views, declared that the Church whose head is Christ cannot err, but the Church as a republic controlled by pope and hierarchy may err, and a pope, not seeking the good of the Church, may be deposed. His election does not make him an impeccable angel or infallible. He may become a devil or worse—*pejor quam diabolus*. A council being supreme over the pope may elect, limit, and depose him. Its canons are immutable except as they are set aside by another œcumenical council.

Superb as was the self-assurance of the holy Council at Constance in declaring its own jurisdiction to be supreme, the declaration was soon annulled by the practice of pontiffs.

[1] Du Pin, *The Works of Gerson*, ii, pp. 54–72; Schwab, *J. Gerson*, pp. 171–178.
[2] Du Pin, ii, pp. 201 *sqq.*; Van der Hardt, ii, p. 265.

It is a most interesting question to what extent the decrees of the particular Council of Constance are infallible, if at all. The answer depends upon two things: first, whether, after all, this synod was œcumenical; and second, what Martin V meant when he announced that he would regard the acts of the Council valid so far as they were passed in a "conciliar way." The intention of the Council itself was unmistakable. Its œcumenical authority extended from its first session. Catholic writers to-day set this judgment aside. They date its œcumenical character from the day Gregory XII recognized the Council as œcumenical, that is, from the day John was deposed and Gregory's resignation went into effect at the thirty-fifth session. This decision, however, does not imply that all the declarations made by the Council from that day are to be accepted. The extent to which they are to be accepted depends upon the attitude of this or that pope. This was established when in the closing hours of the Council Martin V announced that he would regard the acts valid which had been passed in a "conciliar way." The pope, so the contention runs, constituted himself the judge of the validity of conciliar acts. In other words, the authority of the supreme pontiff is above the authority of a council representing the Church.

This almost all Catholic writers now regard as the proper interpretation of Martin's word "conciliar." Hefele and Funk, it is true, express the opinion that, in using the word, Martin was referring only to the Falkenberg incident which came up after the Council was adjourned. However, Funk distinctly limits it to matters of dogma, thus excluding the act of the fourth and fifth sessions. Döllinger took the word *conciliariter* as opposed to *nationaliter*,—what was done in the sittings of the Council and what was done in the "nations." At any rate, whatever may have been Martin's exact meaning, Martin's successors made short

work with the theory of conciliar supremacy. Eugene IV, when he got the mastery at Ferrara, clearly stated that conciliar decisions are to be accepted only so far as they do not prejudice the law, authority, and dignity of the Apostolic See. That prince of opportunists, Æneas Sylvius, raised to the papacy under the name of Pius II, in his bull *Execrabilis* of 1560, went further and pronounced it an unheard of abuse to appeal from a papal utterance to a council, and declared excommunicate any one who was affected with this pestiferous virus and dared to make such an appeal. Forty years after its adjournment the Council of Constance was utterly routed in its innermost redoubt. Innocent III's theory of *plenitudo potestatis* residing in the pope had triumphed. Just six months before Luther posted the Theses, 1517, Leo X reaffirmed Boniface's bull *Unam Sanctam*. Prierias, his chamberlain, went so far as to announce not only that the pope was superior to councils but that the Scriptures themselves depend for their authority upon his consent. Later, the decrees of the Council of Trent were made subject for their interpretation and sanction to the Apostolic See. In 1870, an end seemed to be put to all uncertainty, when Pius IX proclaimed papal infallibility as a dogma of the Church "divinely revealed." No matter how many Gersons and Zabarellas, assembled together in a council, may agree, an Alexander VI, corrupt as he may be, may set them all aside.

IV. *Church Reform.*—In the matter of church reform the Council also failed completely, and this was the second question with which the Council had been called to deal. For more than half a century the reformation of the Church *in capite et membris* had been the chief watchword of Western Europe, as the settlement of the slavery question was with us a half century ago. The corruption practised in the administration of the Church called forth laments from many writers,—from men like Nicolas of Clemanges,

Gerson, and Nieheim, from prophetesses like Catherine of Siena and Brigitta of Sweden, from Petrarch and Alvajo Pelayo, and from the English parliament and king. The stain of the Church's nakedness was portrayed by those near the seat of papal authority and by those who witnessed its abuse of authority from afar. When he entered the papal chambers at Avignon, so he reports, Bishop Alvajo Pelayo found the tables full of gold and clerics spending their time counting and weighing coins. Avignon was the unrivaled exchequer in Europe until Rome, reëstablished as a competing seat of papal authority, vied with it in simony and devices of all sorts to extract money and to secure appointments for aspiring ecclesiastics. "Fees" was the first word the churchman heard on entering the papal city and the last one on leaving it. Petrarch called Avignon the Western Babylon, the sewer of the earth in which was contained everything fearful which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind. It was the deepest gulf of awful simony, the insatiable gulf, so the prophetesses bewailed,—the *vorago pessima horribilis simoniæ.* Adam of Usk said of the pontiff of the Roman line, Boniface IX, that he was gorged with simony and to his dying day remained unsatisfied.

The cardinals meeting at Livorno, 1408, joined in the condemnation, pronouncing the Church corrupt "from the sole of the feet to the crown of the head. In her there was no health at all." Gerson declared that her state was altogether brutish and as that of a monstrous offspring.[1] Incriminating testimony came from England again and again saying that the injustices of the papal see were bringing ruin upon religion.

The Commission of Reform, appointed early in the sittings of the Council, July, 1415, and consisting of three cardinals and thirty-two deputies from the nations, could

[1] Du Pin, ii, p. 61.

hardly have expected to make any headway until after the removal of the three popes. The proposition made by the German "nation" to take up measures of reform before proceeding with the election of Martin V was not entertained. The series of reforms it recommended—the so-called *Avisamenta*—included the restriction of the number of cardinals to eighteen or, at most, twenty-four, distributed proportionally among the nations. The corruption of the Church was represented as having begun one hundred and fifty years before the Council of Constance assembled. Prior to that the Church had enjoyed flourishing times.

Four months later, January 20, 1418, Martin himself offered a program of reform restricting the college of cardinals to twenty-four members, except where a fair apportionment of them among the different nations might call for the appointment of a larger number, and annulling the perpetual indulgences which had been issued from the days of Gregory XI. The program was discussed in the "nations," but did not come to a vote in council. At the forty-third session seven decrees were issued taking note in general terms of simony and other abuses, but making no mention of the size of the college of cardinals.

The concordats into which Martin entered with France, Germany, England, and Spain were in some measure a compensation for the failure to pass definite measures of reform. They were, however, inadequate, as the entire method of procedure in the Church was left to arrangement between the supreme pontiff and the different sovereigns, while Christendom, as represented in a council, was deprived of a voice in determining what those methods should be.

Of the three councils, called the Reformatory Councils, the Council of Constance was altogether the most noteworthy. And yet, in the matter of church reform, it failed,—failed utterly to make its influence felt in legislation adapted to reduce the corruption which had prevailed in the adminis-

tration of the Church. It also failed utterly to prevent a still deeper degradation of the papal office than it had known in the fourteenth century.

Returning to Rome, Martin V showed his indifference to the need of reform by using his office to advance his relatives and friends "beyond what is allowable," as Pastor remarks. The careers of the popes, during the latter part of the fifteenth century and down to the reigns of Clement VII and Paul Farnese in the succeeding century, were in glaring contrast to the warm hope and high purpose with which the Council of Constance had assembled. Here and there during the half century, 1450–1500, voices were heard in favor of reform—the voice of Nicolas of Cusa, to whom Janssen gives so prominent a place, and the voice of Savonarola. But what did these voices avail compared with the lives of Sixtus IV and Alexander Borgia and Leo X and Clement VII and Paul III, with their mistresses and family scandals, political intrigues and duplicity, their greed in heaping worldly honors and titles on their children and relatives, their inquisitions and crusades against witches and the Waldenses, their extravagance calling for loans even to the pawning of the papal tiara, the sale of cardinals' hats, and the traffic in indulgences! Not till the Council of Trent was provision made for the correction of abuses. In the meantime a reformation, starting in the far North and unbacked by ecclesiastical authority, shook the Church to its very foundations, a reformation which included doctrine as well as priestly and papal practice.

V. *Heresy.*—In one other respect the Council of Constance failed utterly—the effort to crush out heresy. The burning of Huss and Jerome of Prague and the condemnation of Wyclif's bones to be dug up and burnt constitute a dark tragedy. Many, to whom the names of the martyrs of the early church are unknown, know of these three heretics, so-called, English and Bohemian. The

mortal blow which the Council thought it was dealing to heretical depravity has in these late generations aided to fruitage the principle of freedom of thought and the rights of conscience. Not a voice was raised in the Council, so far as we know, on behalf of Huss and Jerome. By a unanimous decree they were sentenced and given over to the civil power for the punishment due ecclesiastical dissenters, and the writings of Wyclif consigned to the flames. In 1418, Martin V coupled the three as foxes having their tails bound together—*caudas colligatas habentes*.

In connection with these sentences, the Council announced two principles as vicious as were the sentences themselves. It denied to laymen the right to partake of the cup and pronounced excommunicate priests offering the cup to laymen. And, in view of the criticisms going about in regard to Sigismund's safe-conduct, it declared all bonds and promises whatsoever made with heretics null and void.

Among the notable decisions history has reversed is the decision of Constance against Huss. A hundred years after the Council, in a letter to Luther dated April 28, 1520, Crotus Rubeanus wrote: "John Huss has come to life again after having been dead so long. He is not dead. He will live as long as truth lives." Huss' very words rise up in condemnation of his sentence—words such as these, "Not custom are we to follow but Christ's example," and again, "I cannot retract lest I offend against God and my conscience." The councilors committed his soul to the devil, but it is doubtful whether in all history mortal man has accomplished so much by his death as did the Bohemian reformer and martyr. Gerson justified the condemnation of Huss to the penalty of death, declaring that the erring should "be punished and exterminated in the flames."[1] But Æneas Sylvius, equally orthodox, left a testimonial

[1] Du Pin, ii, p. 277.

which abides like the bowlder marking the spot where Huss and Jerome suffered. "With a steadfast spirit," he wrote, "both suffered death and, as if invited to a feast, so they hastened to the stake. Never was philosopher reported to have endured death with such composure and bravery as did these two men the flames." Throughout Bohemia the purity of Huss' life was never called in question. The religious influence he exerted over his people was very distinct. It was a rare testimony to a teacher's power when the four hundred and fifty-two Bohemian noblemen, replying to the Council of Constance's act, pledged themselves to the free preaching on their domains of the truths for which their fellow countryman had stood. The Bohemian heresy was not crushed. It remained to plague Europe, and a hundred years after Huss' death the term "Bohemian" was a synonym for ecclesiastical disobedience and heretical depravity.

In his sermon on the day of Huss' appearance before the Council in the Cathedral the bishop of Lodi represented the extermination of heretics as a work most pleasing to God. The prisoner, he said, was as bad as Arius and worse than Sabellius. A century later the memory of Huss was taken up in the Protestant movement and he was lifted up by it to a place among the flaming witnesses to the pure Gospel. Through Luther Huss was brought to life again and given a place in the history of the world's progress. In noble self-renunciation Luther welcomed the condemned preacher of Prague as his coadjutor.

Inasmuch as the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation has recently been celebrated, I will call to mind the different stages in Luther's recognition of Huss. It must not be forgotten, however, that in no wise did the Protestant Reformer get his message from Huss or Wyclif. That message he got in the arduous study of the New Testament carried on in his cell in preparation for his daily lectures,

and with the guidance of Augustine. The very utmost that can be said is that Luther was encouraged in his course by the memory of Huss.

Before 1517 Luther looked upon Huss as an arrant heretic. In that period of his life he would have been the first, so he declared in later years, to carry fagots to consume a heretic. As a student at Erfurt, finding a copy of Huss' sermons, he read, wondering why the Bohemian preacher should have been pronounced a heretic, so evangelical did the sermons seem to him to be. The only explanation he could give at the time was that the sermons had been prepared before Huss' mind had been poisoned with heretical infection. The volume he hastily put aside as a thing too black for the rays of the sun to shine upon.

At the colloquy with Eck at Leipzig, June, 1519, the Bohemian heresy played a prominent part. Luther was brought face to face by his opponent with the sentence of the Council of Constance condemning the Hussite articles. Luther was defending the Greek schismatics as members of the Church on the ground of Scripture and of the Council of Nice, which recognized the African Church as well as the Roman Church. By papal decretals of recent date, he contended, had the Roman Church come to make claim to be the superior of other churches or the only Church. As a skilled debater, Eck seized his opportunity, charging Luther with being a "Bohemian." In spite of Luther's protest his opponent pressed his charge again and again until he forced from Luther the confession that one at least of the articles condemned at Constance was most evangelical, namely, that the Church is the totality of the elect. This Luther declared to be an article of Augustine as well as of Huss. But it was plain that the assertion involved the denial of the infallibility of œcumenical councils. A year before the colloquy took place, Eck in his *Obelisks* had called Luther a "fanatical Hussite." He now boasted of having proved

his charge. On the other hand, Luther at Leipzig affirmed that he "did not wish to defend the Bohemian schism, nor was he able to do so." Eck's thrust was made more deadly by the audience gathered to listen to the debate. In it were Bohemians, some of them, Eck afterwards wrote, sent from Bohemia to give support to Luther. In his defense of his statements at Leipzig written within three months after the colloquy, Luther openly declared in favor of other opinions held by Huss and challenged his opponents to deny Huss' contention that acts done by priests or magistrates while they are in mortal sin are invalid.

A year later in his *Address to the German Nobles*, June, 1520, Luther went much further. Addressing himself to the sentence passed upon Huss and Jerome, he declared that in their condemnation to death a solemn oath had been broken and in his own bold way announced the principle that faith is to be kept even with the devil. The Bohemians were to be overcome not with fire but with the Scriptures. "John Huss," he wrote, "I will not call a martyr and a saint but I will say his teachings were unjustly condemned."[1]

A short time before he wrote this appeal, Luther had read John Huss' work *On the Church*. The copy of this treatise, sent him from Bohemia in the summer or fall of 1519, was left unread for a number of months. At last, he took it up and to his astonishment became aware that his own opinions agreed with those of the Bohemian heretic. This discovery he was quick to avow in a letter written to Spalatin, February, 1520. "Unawares," he wrote, "I have been teaching and holding all the things taught by Huss.

[1] Weimar Ed. of Luther's Works, ii, p. 275, and the letters describing the Leipzig discussion written by Melanchthon, Mosellanus, and Eck: Smith, *Luther's Correspondence*, pp. 205, 257, etc. Eck wrote: "Luther defended the Greeks and declared some of the articles of the Bohemians condemned at Constance to be most Christian and even evangelical."

To be brief, we all are Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine were Hussites to the letter."

From now on Luther was bold to identify himself openly with Huss. Consequences were not considered. It was simply a matter of truth. The Council of Constance was wholly wrong. Huss was wholly right and right because his views were in accord with the Scriptures. In 1521[1] Luther wrote that the Greeks and the Bohemians were of all Christians the best. They dispensed the cup to the laity.

> Formerly [he went on], I said some of the articles of John Huss were evangelical. Now I say not only some of them but that all the articles of John Huss condemned at Constance are wholly Christian, and in condemning John Huss, the End-Christ and his followers condemned the Holy Gospel and put in its stead the teaching of the dragon of hell.

In this treatise (p. 439) he again declared that to burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit.

This was good Lutheran style. The world understood Cardinal Aleander wrote that Luther had "avowed all the doctrines of Huss" and suggested that if the Diet of Worms, which was impending, allowed Luther to go free the heretic would probably seek refuge in Bohemia.

At Worms, Luther's teachings were officially coupled with those of Huss. Cochlæus represented the general judgment when he pronounced Huss worse than a Jew,—a Tartar and Turk and a Sodomite. Luther, on the other hand, took the maligned man fully under his protection. His concluding words at the Diet were in immediate answer to an address associating him with Huss. Offering Luther a final chance to save himself, John von Eck in the Diet's name stated that Luther's opinions had been put under the ban at Constance when Huss and Wyclif were condemned.

[1] *Grund und Ursach*, Weimar Ed., vii, p. 395 *sqq*.

If Luther would recant these teachings, he doubted not, so the speaker said, that the Emperor would graciously deal with Luther's works in which these teachings were not found. Thus, before this august civil tribunal Huss was on trial again. And Luther, true to himself and true to Huss, replied: "It is evident that councils have erred and contradicted one another. Unless I am persuaded by arguments of reason or from the Scriptures I will not recant." This was the answer given in plain terms, as John von Eck had asked.[1]

The last chapter in Luther's treatment of Huss is bound up in the three prefaces which Luther wrote in 1536 and 1537 to as many editions of some of Huss' works. In these prefaces he bore the highest testimony to Huss' pious life and the noble witness Huss had borne to Christian truth. Among the testimonies given by man to his fellow man there is perhaps nothing finer.

> If John Huss [so he wrote], is to be regarded as a heretic, then scarcely may any one be found upon whom the sun has ever shone who deserves to be called a Christian. If he who in the agony of death invoked the Son of God, who suffered on our behalf, and who gave himself up to the flames with such faith and constancy for Christ's cause,—if he was not one of Christ's martyrs, then who may be saved?

In putting Huss and Jerome to death the Council of Constance made a huge mistake. It asserted as the Church's prerogative the right to discredit and crush heresy by silencing heretics with physical imprisonment and death. Here modern thought fights against the great Council by insisting upon the rights of the individual man to the free exercise of his conscience. The Council refused Huss' appeal to be shown his error out of the Scriptures. Here Protestantism

[1] See the letters of Aleander and Contarini bearing on Luther's testimony to Huss at Worms. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 529, 538.

fights against the great Council by insisting that every man has the right to read the Scriptures for himself and to make them the final rule of his religious belief. Both judgments have become the pronounced opinion of one half of Western Christendom.

The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America, before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries

By

William Orpheus Shewmaker

PREFATORY NOTE

THE following paper, read by title at the meeting of the American Society of Church History held in New York City on the 27th of December, 1915, has been revised, and is now published by direction of the Editorial Committee.

The only attempt to survey the whole subject which the writer has found is the brief sketch by Dr. Samuel Simpson, "Early Ministerial Training in America" (in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. ii, 1910, pp. 115–129), which has been very useful as an introduction. Special sections of the subject have also been presented recently by Dr. Frederick G. Gotwald, *Early American Lutheran Theological Education, 1745–1845* (reprinted from *The Lutheran Quarterly*, January, 1916), and by Professor Jesse Johnson, "Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies" (in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. v, 1917, pp. 119–130).

The present treatise was first written in 1914, and presented in May of that year to the Faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary in Hartford, Connecticut, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The author acknowledges his obligation to Professor Curtis M. Geer and to Professor Edwin Knox Mitchell, of the Faculty of the Hartford Seminary, for their encouragement and guidance in its preparation. He also appreciates the help of Professor William Walker Rockwell, of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, who revised certain sections of it and added much of the material on Dutch education, and also some of the longer

notes. For the facts alleged and the conclusions announced, the writer, however, is alone responsible.

There remains the pleasant duty of thanking for many courtesies the libraries of the following institutions: the Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut; the University of Chicago; the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky; the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago; the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; and the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

THE TRAINING OF THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES

By William Orpheus Shewmaker

INTRODUCTION: THE PERIOD AND ITS DIVISIONS

THE Protestant ministry in the United States extends back over three hundred years; the present study covers the first two hundred. For the sake of simplicity the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are treated successively. A stricter division might terminate the first part of the period with the founding of the College of William and Mary in 1693, or with the establishment of Yale College in 1701; and might end the second part either with the opening of the first theological seminary, or with the early nineteenth century, when the practice of attending the seminaries had become general. These dates, however, fall so close to 1700 and to 1800 that it will suffice to treat the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries successively.

I

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1. The Anglican Ministry in Virginia

The first permanent Protestant ministry in America was that of the first permanent English colony in the country,

and was contemporaneous with the founding of that colony. For the expedition of 1607 brought, as its minister, the Reverend Robert Hunt, who served as the first pastor, at Jamestown, Virginia. His successors there, and those who became pastors elsewhere in the colony, were all, like him, clergymen of the Church of England. Most of them had already served the Church in their native country; some of them were well advanced in years.

(*a*) *Its Numbers*

Throughout the seventeenth century the number of the Virginia clergy appears never to have been large. But the close study of the careers of the individual clergymen which might be inferred as possible because of this fact does not appear to have been made. It has been so far found impossible because of the scantiness of the records that have survived concerning them.[1] The facts as to certain of them have, however, been sufficiently well established, especially by the researches of certain scholars in recent years.

The object of this inquiry is their academic training, using the term to include any post-collegiate training for the work of the ministry. The fact of their ordination as Anglican clergymen is in favor of the presumption that they all had university training. But it is not by itself proof.[2] Evidence of it must be sought elsewhere. The natural place to seek this is the official records of the universities of England. Where these are complete and clear, as pub-

[1] "The early ecclesiastical history of the colony is probably more incomplete than the secular. . . . In the reports the ministers are not designated by their title, 'Reverend' or 'Rev.,' and therefore I do not know how many were living in 1625; . . . ." (Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America*, pp. 630–631.) In 1675 Bishop Compton reported "scarce four Ministers of the Church of England in all the vast tract of America." *Digest of the Records of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1701–1892 (Second Edition).

[2] See below, p. 99.

lished, they have been taken as sufficient; where there is question, the decision of certain authorities has been accepted.

(*b*) *Evidence of Its Training*

Rev. Robert Hunt is, in the opinion of Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, probably the one of that name who was Master of Arts of one of the universities in England.[1] It is known that he brought a library with him. His immediate successor (1610) was Richard Buck, a graduate of Oxford.[2] Alexander Whitaker, who came in 1611, was a Master of Arts of Cambridge[3]; of which university was also Mr. Glover, whose arrival was in this period.[4] Rev. Hawte Wyatt (1621) was a Master of Arts of Oxford.[5] Of Francis Bolton and Robert Staples, who came about the same time, it is safe to infer that they were men of education; for of the former, it is said that he was highly recommended to the London Company "for piety and learning"; and of the other, that the Company was urged "by twenty conspicuous divines to secure his services."[6]

Among those arriving somewhat later were Philip Mallory, M.A., Thomas Hampton, B.A., of Oxford; Justinian Aylmer, probably of the same; Morgan Godwin, B.A., of Oxford; Rowland Jones, and John Clayton, of Oxford, and James Blair, M.A., of Edinburgh. Later still, at and about the end of the century, there appear Bartholomew Yates, Peter Kippax, Cope Doyley, Emmanuel Jones, St. John

[1] Lyon G. Tyler, *The Cradle of the Republic*, p. 135; see also C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii, p. 493, and *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. ii, p. 772. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] P. A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i, p. 196. [4] Tyler, *loc. cit.* [5] *Alumni Oxonienses*, *s. v.*

[6] Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 199. The records of the Virginia Company of London call him simply Mr. Bolton. "He may have been the Robert Bolton, who in 1609, took the degree of A.B. at Oxford" (E. D. Neill, *Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy*. Philadelphia, 1877, p. 8).

Shropshire, all Bachelors of Arts of Oxford,[1] and James Clark,[2] who, though his education does not appear to be definitely known yet is described as "distinguished for culture," which seems to justify the inference of a university training. In 1619, when there were just five pastors known to have been then in Virginia, including two who acted as pastors but who had not been ordained, one of these latter was Samuel Maycock, of Cambridge.[3]

(c) *Attainments and Abilities*

The attainments and abilities of some of these, and of others whose training is not so well known, are well established. Glover was an approved minister in England before he came to America. Hawte Wyatt, upon his return to England, was appointed to a living. Thomas Harrison, first a minister in the colony in 1640, became a Puritan, returned to England, and was chaplain to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. Philip Mallory was son-in-law to Robert Batte, Vice-master of Oxford, and is judged to have been the virtual head of the Church in the colony at this early time (1656), having been appointed jointly with Roger Green to examine into the competency of all the ministers then in Virginia. The standing of Green is also indicated by this appointment. He was the author of the pamphlet, *Virginia's Cure, or an advisive concerning Virginia, discovering the true ground of the Church's unhappiness*, 1661.[4]

Rowland Jones is called in his epitaph "*pastor primus et dilectissimus.*" John Clayton was a member of the Royal Society, and after his return to England wrote letters concerning some of the natural features of Virginia, which were published in the *Transactions* of the Society,[5] while James

[1] For the Oxford graduates, see *Alumni Oxonienses.*
[2] Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–141.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 143; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

Blair, the Commissary of the Bishop of London, was the founder and first president of William and Mary College. His attainments, abilities, and influence are too generally known to require further emphasis.[1]

By this time the Episcopal Church had begun to develop in Maryland. A few years after Blair's appointment in Virginia, Thomas Bray was appointed to a corresponding position in Maryland. His work for the advancement of learning among the clergy of that colony is well known. He spent the first four years of his office in England making energetic efforts to secure a fit body of recruits for the ministry in Maryland, and the establishment of parochial libraries for their use. He succeeded in bringing the number of ministers in the colony up to sixteen, and in collecting thirty-nine libraries.[2]

(*d*) *Places of Training*

It will be observed that those of the Anglican ministry in America in the regions where it was strongest at this period, whose training is positively known, were, with the exception of James Blair, trained either at Oxford or at Cambridge. It is safe to infer that as many of the others as had university training had received it at one or the other of these institutions.[3]

[1] D. E. Motley, *Life of Commissary James Blair*, 1901.

[2] *American Church History Series*, vol. i, p. 65; Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, the whole book.

[3] "Some had been educated in Scotland, but a very much larger number had emigrated from England, where they had first seen the light, and where they had received their first lessons in letters and theology." Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i, p. 116. The names of those Anglican ministers who received through the Bishop of London a bounty to defray the expenses of the voyage to America are listed by G. Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America*, 1690–1811, London, 1904.

2. The Ministry of the Dutch

The next Protestant ministry established in America was that of the Dutch in their settlements in what is now New York. It was of the Reformed Church of Holland.

(*a*) *Its Numbers*

It was throughout this period quite small in numbers. Until 1664 there had been, all told, fifteen Dutch ministers who had been appointed to serve in one way or another in the colony.[1] At that date there were only six actually serving as pastors. In 1676 there were only three.[2] To 1700 there had been thirty-three in all, including the Huguenots.[3] The facts as to their careers are better known than are those of the Episcopal ministry of the same period.

(*b*) *Evidence of its Training*

The data concerning the academic training of these men have been tabulated, so far as they could be ascertained from the matriculation books of the universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen. If the records of other universities had been consulted, the proportion of ministers known to have enjoyed some university training would be larger. Thirteen had studied at Leyden, then perhaps the most distinguished school of reformed theology on the Continent. Second to Leyden was Utrecht, with six men listed, four of whom had studied at Leyden also.[4]

There is more information available about the Dutch universities than there is about the corresponding French

[1] See the list in E. T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America* (fourth edition), p. 1045.

[2] *American Church History Series*, vol. viii, pp. 57, 74.

[3] Corwin, *Manual*, p. 1045 f.

[4] Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, 4th ed., 1902, p. 1045 f.; cf. *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vi, pp. 4405–4413.

"academies." Two at least of the French Reformed Ministers who settled in America in the seventeenth century had enjoyed university training: Pierre Daillé, who came out in 1683, had been professor in the academy at Saumur, the most liberal Huguenot school of theology; and Jacques Laborei, who came in 1699, had completed a theological course in Geneva in 1688.[1] The probability is that most of the French Reformed ministers had enjoyed some academic training.

The Dutch did not refuse to ordain a few good men who had not had the advantages of university training.[2] The Church Order of Dort (1619) provided that with synodical consent a classis might examine pious and discreet schoolmasters, mechanics, and others who had not been regular students. If they were found worthy, the classis might then prescribe a course of private study for them, "after which they shall be dealt with as shall be judged conducive to edification."[3] In 1638 the Synod of North Holland ruled that this

[1] Corwin, *Manual*, pp. 401, 563.

[2] See W. Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 30. In the nineteenth century the law was stricter. A royal decree of 1815 (art. 116) barred from admission to the ministry everyone who had not academic degrees and everyone who had not heard the prescribed lectures (H. M. C. Van Oosterzee, *De Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk in hare inrigting en bestuur*, Schiedam, 1861, p. 54).

[3] Church Order art. 8, translated in *Ecclesiastical Records*, vi, p. 4219; *cf.* G. Brandt, *History of the Reformation . . . in and about the Low-Countries*, iii, London, 1722, p. 316. The Church Order is in the *Post-Acta Synodalia* adopted by the Synod of Dort after the foreign delegates had gone home (see Corwin, *Digest of Constitutional and Synodical Legislation of the Reformed Church in America*, New York, 1906, p. 512 f.). On early provincial editions of the Church Order see W. P. C. Knuttel, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van Kerkgeschiedenis*, Amsterdam, 1889, p. 5 (*s.v. Acta*, 1668), p. 126 and p. 164 f. The *Post-Acta* have been published in Latin and in Dutch, with copious annotations, by H. H. Kuyper, *De Post-Acta of nahandelingen van de nationale Synode van Dordrecht*, Amsterdam, 1899. The Church Order was binding on the French-speaking or Walloon churches also. The French text is given in the *Livre synodal contenant les articles résolus dans les synodes des Églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas. Publié par la Commission de l'histoire des Églises wallonnes*, i, La Haye (1896), pp. 268–276.

standard should still be maintained, and that no one not properly called should preach or administer the sacraments on the mission field "except in some great necessity."[1]

The procedure in the cases of persons who had not had the necessary university training may be traced in detail in the career of Johannes Cornelissen Backer, who, prior to his ordination in 1642 was required to preach several sermons before the Classis of Amsterdam, and to pass an examination on the fundamentals of the Christian religion.[2]

(*c*) *Attainments and Abilities*

The attainments and abilities of many of the Dutch ministers are well known. Jonas Michaelius, whose stay in the country was only some three years, seems to have been a man of force and influence, as was certainly Johannes Megapolensis, the first Protestant missionary to the American Indians. Samuel Drisius could preach in German, French, English, or Dutch, and had been the minister of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, London. He came to America in 1652. An arrival of the same year was Gideon Schaats, who had been a schoolmaster at Beest. John T. Polhemus, who came in 1654, was the first to propose an association of American ministers and churches of the Dutch order. Everardus Welius, who came in 1657, is described as "a man of piety and learning." Hermanus Blom, coming in 1660, saw his church increase in three years from sixteen members to sixty, and in the same year there came Henry Selyns, who is described as the most eminent of the ministers who had as yet arrived from Hol-

[1] *Ecclesiastical Records*, i, p. 120, referring to art. 3 of the Church Order, but involving art. 8.

[2] *Ecclesiastical Records*, vii (Index), 62 f.; Corwin, *Manual*, p. 300 f.; A. Eekhof, *De Hervormde Kerk in Noord-Amerika* (*1624–1664*), i, 's-Gravenhage, 1913, p. 77 f.—This procedure may be compared with that in the case of Everardus Hardenbergius, who presented credentials from the theological faculty at Leyden (*Ecclesiastical Records*, i, p. 120)

land, and as "a remarkable man, . . . universally esteemed for his talents and virtues." Pierre Daillé, the Huguenot, who, as we have noted, came in 1683, had taught at Saumur, was a minister of prominence and usefulness both in New York and Boston, and is described by Selyns as being "full of fire, godliness, and learning." G. Dellius, who came the same year, was prominent in civil life, and active in work among the Indians. J. P. Nucella, arriving in 1695, was very highly commended by the Classis, which sent him to America. Gaulterus Du Bois, coming as he did in 1699, is the last arrival of the period. He too was highly esteemed by his contemporaries.[1]

(*d*) *Dutch Control of American Candidates*

The Dutch church system of the seventeenth century made no provision for ordination in America. This became in the eighteenth century the chief point of tension between the Dutch churches here and the authorities in the Netherlands. The most interesting early case of going to Holland for ordination is that of Samuel Megapolensis, son of Dominie Johannes Megapolensis of New Amsterdam. His father sent him to Harvard for three years, where he was a classmate of the delicate and precocious Increase Mather. After that he sent Samuel to Utrecht with letters to Professor Voetius (whom we shall discuss later). Samuel studied six years in the Netherlands, pursuing theology at Utrecht and a little medicine at Leyden. He was ordained on the 3d of October, 1662, by the Classis of Amsterdam.[2]

[1] For the entire paragraph, see *American Church History Series*, vol. viii, pp. 28, 37, 41, 77, 80, and Corwin, *Manual*, *s. v.*; also Corwin, "The Ecclesiastical Condition of New York at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century," with chronological lists of all ministers in New York and New Jersey prior to 1710 (*Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. iii, 1912).

[2] J. L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, i, p. 563 f.; Corwin, *Manual*, p. 615 f.; *Ecclesiastical Records*, vi, 4411, 4413; vii, 257 f.

Even though a man had held minor ecclesiastical positions in America he was required to seek ordination in the Netherlands. Thus Guilliam Bartholf (Bertholf, Bartholdt), who had been a catechist, *voorlezer*, and schoolmaster here, had to secure his ordination in the old country.[1]

3. The Ministry in New England

The next ministry in the order of time was that of New England. It properly begins with the year 1629, when the first pastor, Ralph Smith, began his work. It is interesting to note in passing that the ruling elder, William Brewster, who had served Plymouth in the place of a minister before the arrival of Smith, had studied at Cambridge.

(*a*) *The First Generation*

This ministry was more numerous in this period than either of the others that have been considered.

(1) There are about forty (possibly a few more than that) who may be classed as belonging to the first generation of these ministers.

(2) We have evidence of their training in the fact that among them there were certainly nineteen, and very probably more, Bachelors of Arts, fourteen Masters of Arts, three Bachelors of Divinity, and four who had been Fellows of colleges.[2]

[1] Corwin, *Manual*, p. 102; p. 317 f.

[2] The Bachelors of Arts were Charles Chauncy, John Cotton, John Davenport, Samuel Eaton, John Fiske, John Harvard, Francis Higginson, William Hooke, Peter Hobart, John Lothropp, Thomas Parker, Samuel Skelton, Nathaniel Ward, Thomas Welde, Abraham Pierson, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers, Samuel Whiting, Roger Williams. All were Masters of Arts except Fiske, Lothropp, Pierson, Nathaniel Rogers, and Williams. The Bachelors of Divinity were Charles Chauncy, John Cotton, John Davenport; the Fellows, Peter Bulkley, Chauncy, Cotton, and Thomas Hooker. (*Alumni Oxonienses;* C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses;* W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit.*)

(3) As to their attainments and abilities, the following established facts, which are recorded in various biographical notices of them,[1] are significant.

John Allin preached for a considerable time in the Church of England, and is said to have "possessed a vigorous, acute, and discriminating understanding, and for the age and circumstances under which he was placed," to have written well. Peter Bulkley, son of a distinguished minister, preached in England for twenty-one years, was a distinguished scholar, and wrote Latin with great ease and elegance. Charles Chauncy, one of the most thorough Hebrew scholars of his day, was chosen Professor of Hebrew, and afterwards, of Greek, in Cambridge. He held a high place in England as a preacher, and was honored in America by being made President of Harvard College. John Cotton was confessedly one of the most distinguished Englishmen of his time. He was invited to sit in the Westminster Assembly. Pupils in theology came to him not only from England, but also from Germany and Holland. John Davenport had displayed great proficiency as a student,[2] and obtained great repute as a preacher in England. He, too, had been invited to the Westminster Assembly. Samuel Eaton was a man of great learning, held in high esteem by the Puritans, and, after his return to England, was pastor of a Congregational Church, though he had been previously ordained episcopally, and had held a benefice before coming to America. John Fiske, who had also been a minister in England, had studied medicine as well as theology, and was licensed to practice "after a thorough examination." Henry Flint had the reputation of an able minister. Ephraim Huit is described as "a man of superior talents and eminent usefulness." Francis Higginson was very popular in his native

[1] Especially W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i.

[2] He had received the M.A. and the B.D. degrees at the same time. Sprague, *Annals of the American pulpit*, vol. i, p. 93.

country, and was offered several excellent livings there. William Hooke, "a learned man," was a close student, had been vicar of Axmouth, and upon his return to England became domestic chaplain to Cromwell. Thomas Hooker was a preacher of great reputation in both countries, and in Holland also, and was another of this company to be invited to the Westminster Assembly. Peter Hobart had been a successful preacher in England. Thomas James, John Lothropp, Richard Mather, John Maverick, and Edward Norris were all ministers of efficiency in the English Church in their native country. The great scholarship of Thomas Parker is well known. His diploma is said to have contained special mention of his high attainments. It is scarcely necessary to mention the name of the vivid historic figure, Hugh Peters. Abraham Pierson, who preached for some years in England, is described by Winthrop as "a godly, learned man." Ezekiel Rogers was influential in his own community in England, while Nathaniel Rogers was a man of "eminent learning." Another of those esteemed in the mother country was Samuel Skelton, of Lincolnshire. Zechariah Symmes had been a tutor in several distinguished families, and was rector of Dunstable, England. Nathaniel Ward was a minister of high repute in both England and America, and a lawyer and physician of ability. Another who was eminent as a preacher in the home land was Ralph Wheelock. Samuel Stone was a man of "superior accomplishments." Henry Whitfield[1] was "a good scholar, a great divine, and an excellent preacher." Samuel Whiting was an accomplished scholar, especially in Hebrew and Latin. John Wilson had ministered at Sudbury, England, and was of high connection by birth.[2] It is said of Ralph Smith, the first New England pastor, that

[1] He had also studied law, Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[2] Supposed to have studied at Cambridge, but not to have proceeded to a degree; see J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, vol. iii, p. 179 note.

he was of moderate ability. Thomas Welde was agent of the colony with Hugh Peters, and accompanied Lord Forbes to Ireland. Roger Williams founded a commonwealth, while his linguistic accomplishments are well known.

(4) Of those constituting this generation of New England ministers, twenty-one were Cambridge men, six were of Oxford,[1] one seems to have had no university training,[2] while the place, but not the fact, of the training of the others seems in doubt. It is very probable, however, that in the cases where the place of training has not been definitely determined, it was one of the English universities.

(*b*) *The Second Generation*

The second generation of the New England ministry was (1) more numerous than the first. As to origin, it was mixed, being partly foreign, and partly native to America The larger part was foreign. But it consisted chiefly of those who came to the colonies in childhood, or in their early youth. A score or more seem to have been of this class.

(2) Among the whole number, the lists disclose only three or four without college training.[3]

(3) As to their attainments and abilities, the records of some of them afford the following data:

Thomas Shepard, a Master of Arts of Cambridge,[4] born and trained in England, was held in high repute as a writer in

[1] Of Cambridge were Bulkley, Chauncy, Cotton, Eaton, Fiske, Harvard, Higginson, Hooker, Skelton, Smith, Stone, Symmes, Ward, Welde, Wheelock, Peters, Pierson, Ezekiel Rogers and Nathaniel Rogers, Whiting, and Williams; of Oxford, Davenport, Hooke, Lothropp, Mather, Samuel Newman, and Parker.

[2] The elder Thomas Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard, who began to preach to the Indians late in life; Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i, p. 132.

[3] John Higginson, Francis Dane, John Fitch, and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., whom his father succeeded at Martha's Vineyard.

[4] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 59.

his native country as well as in the colonies. John Knowles,[1] of the same class as to birth and training, was a Fellow and Tutor of Katherine Hall, Cambridge. These two were, of course, active as contemporaries of the men of the first generation. But they are classed here as of the second, because they were still children when the settlement of New England was actually begun.

John Bulkley,[2] Isaac and Ichabod Chauncy,[3] Benjamin Woodbridge,[4] Comfort Star,[5] Samuel and Nathaniel Mather,[6] became ministers in England. Increase Mather was invited to do so.[7] Bulkley and the two Chauncys were finally physicians in England. Woodbridge succeeded the famous Twiss in charge of Sudbury.

Samuel Mather became chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, preached in Scotland and Ireland, was Senior Fellow of Trinity, Dublin, minister of St. Nicholas Church, and held high rank both as preacher and scholar.

Nathaniel Mather was presented to a living by Cromwell, preached in Rotterdam, Dublin, and London. His epitaph, written by Dr. Watts, describes him as a man of genius and learning.

John Rogers was not only an eminent minister in America, but also had "a larger medical practice than any other physician" in his town.

Samuel Danforth was an astronomer of local repute, and published almanacs.

Urian Oakes was a minister in England, and afterwards President of Harvard.

Michael Wigglesworth, Fellow and Tutor of Harvard, was, besides being a minister, also a successful physician.

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 118.

[2] Sibley, J. L., *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, vol. i, p. 52.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 308; Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 113.

[4] Sibley, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 20.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 157, respectively.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 413 *sq.*

Joshua Moodey was a highly influential minister in New England, and notable for his enlightened and consistent opposition to the "witchcraft delusion." The attainments and abilities of the first two generations of the ministry of New England have, of course, been matters of frequent and emphatic remark since the days of Cotton Mather. From what has been stated above, it is also clear that there were, among the ministry of Virginia and New York during the same period, not a few of corresponding rank.

(4) As to the places of their training, we have sufficient indication in the fact that of the ministers of New England who may, within rough but reasonable limits, be classed as belonging to the second generation, there have been counted twenty-two names of those of foreign birth who were educated in America.[1] Three of these seem to have begun their training in England and completed it in the colonies.[2] Twenty-one went to Harvard, of whom one did not graduate.[3] Besides these, there were about eight Cambridge men and seven of Oxford[4]. The training of fourteen is not known.

The native born were all trained in America and practically all at Harvard.[5] John Higginson, who seems to have

[1] Namely, John Bulkley, Benjamin Woodbridge, William Hubbard, Isaac Chauncy, Roger Newton, Ichabod Chauncy, John Rogers, Samuel Stow, Francis Dane, John Wilson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, Urian Oakes, John Brock, Michael Wigglesworth, Comfort Star, Joshua Hobart, John Higginson, Samuel Torrey, Joshua Moodey, Samuel Mather, Nathaniel Mather.

[2] Francis Dane, Roger Newton, Thomas Thacher.

[3] Samuel Torrey (*v.* Sibley, *op. cit.*, vol. i, App., p. 564).

[4] Of Cambridge: Thomas Allen, Henry Dunster, John Eliot, Peter Hobart, John Knowles, John Norton, Thomas Shepard, John Sherman ; of Oxford : James Allen, Thomas Cobbett, John Jones, Samuel Lee, Charles Morton, James Noyes, John Oxenbridge.

[5] In 1696 the overwhelming majority of New England churches had as pastors graduates of Harvard College: see the tables in Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, book i, chap. vii.

been the first fruits of the colonies so far as the ministry is concerned, appears to have had no college training,[1] while Increase Mather enjoyed the privilege of foreign study.

With this generation of New England ministers we have the rise of the first ministry of American training.

4. The Foreign and the Native Opportunities

In order to form an estimate of the training actually received by the American ministry of the seventeenth century, it is necessary to consider the requirements and advantages of the institutions at which it was received. That is, we have to examine the course of study and method of instruction in use during the period in the universities of Holland and of England, and in the American colleges.

(*a*) *In the United Netherlands*

On the ideals and actual requirements of theological education in the United Netherlands in the seventeenth century it is hard to find a more competent witness than Professor Voetius. As a young pastor, Gijsbert Voet (1588–1676) had taken an active part in the Synod of Dort. From 1634 to 1676, a period of forty-two years, he was a professor of theology in the University of Utrecht.[2] He taught Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and especially controversial theology. He obeyed literally the eighteenth article of the

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 91.

[2] On Voetius see B. Glasius, *Godgeleerd Nederland*, iii, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1856, pp. 526–540; A. Kuyper, *Encyclopædie der heilige Godgeleerdheid*, i (Amsterdam, 1894), pp. 169–175; J. J. Van Oosterzee and S. D. Van Veen, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie, etc.*, xx (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 717–725. The standard biography is not accessible: A. C. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, Leyden, 1897–1915 (see the supplementary material published in the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, nieuwe serie, 12. deel, 's-Gravenhage, 1916, pp. 158–201).

Church Order of Dort, which made it the duty of a professor of theology "to defend the pure doctrine against heresies and errors," by attacking not merely Roman Catholics but even other Reformed theologians, such as Maresius of Sedan and Groningen, and the famous advocate of the Federal Theology, Cocceius of Leyden.

In his *Politica Ecclesiastica* (1669), Voetius summarized his views of theological education.[1] The boy intended for the ministry should pass through the primary vernacular school, with its strong emphasis on religion, and through the "trivial" or Latin school,[2] with its stress on Latin, Greek, and the elements of Hebrew.

For the study of theology at the university or academy[3] Voetius demanded four years.[4] Into this period he proposed to pack many subjects. True to his high views of biblical authority, he put first the study of "textual," or as we should

[1] *Politicæ ecclesiasticæ pars secunda*, Amstelodami, 1669, lib. iii, tract. iv (pp. 728–774). In earlier works (p. 728) he had treated these topics at greater length, particularly in his *Exercitia et bibliotheca studiosi theologiæ*, of which the second enlarged edition appeared at Utrecht in 1651. On its contents *see* C. Sepp, *Het godgeleerd onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*, ii (Leyden, 1874), pp. 156–160.—Of other Dutch works contemporary with Voetius one may mention Antonii Perizonii, *De ratione studii theologici tractatus*, Daventriæ [1669].

[2] "*Schola trivialis, (quæ & pædagogia, gymnasium, schola latina, schola particularis, schola classica, dicitur) est societas discentium et docentium, linguas, artes, religionem & bonos mores; quibus pueri ad Academica studia præparantur*" (Voetius, ii, p. 741). See the discussion of the term in W. H. Kilpatrick, *Dutch Schools of New Netherland*, Washington, 1912, p. 95 ff.

[3] "*Schola suprema, quæ etiam universitas, studium generale, Academia dici solet*" (Voetius, ii, p. 743).

[4] Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 158.—Voetius quotes at length (pp. 728–730) from a memorial on ministerial education presented on the first of December, 1618, at the eighteenth session of the Synod of Dort by the deputies of the province of Zeeland. It recommended that future pastors should spend five or six years at the universities in the study of philosophy, the languages and theology, and should not imitate the temerity of certain youngsters who had sought ordination after scarcely more than two years of study (Cf. *Acta synodi nationalis . . . Dordrechti habitæ*, Dordrechti, 1620, p. 51 f.).

say, exegetical theology. This involved for all students the study of Greek and Hebrew, and for some of them, acquaintance with other oriental languages. Special attention was to be given to pivotal books such as Genesis, Isaiah, the Psalms, Matthew, John, Romans, Hebrews, and to chapters bearing on controverted points such as the Lord's Supper. The second main division of the course dealt with systematic or dogmatic theology, studied as a whole and in all its parts and not merely in an epitome.[1] The third and last department of study was *theologia elenctica et problematica*, a thorough treatment of recent controversies between the orthodox Calvinists and their opponents, be these Arminian, Socinian, Roman Catholic, Anabaptist, Jewish, or atheistic.[2]

These three fields—exegetical, systematic, controversial—did not exhaust the interests of Voetius. Over against an ancient and persistent tendency in Protestantism to train the minister chiefly as a preacher,[3] Voetius emphasized the idea that the university should teach practical theology, under which he included branches such as the study of the decalogue and of cases of conscience,[4] of ascetical theology and of ecclesiastical polity, in addition to frequent exercises in preaching.[5] The message which was upon his heart we may summarize in the phrase "pious efficiency." His inaugural lecture in 1634 was entitled "*De pietate cum scientiâ conjungendâ*";[6] and he and his colleagues were accustomed to try to promote piety and virtue among their

[1] Voetius probably had in mind brief works such as William Ames's *Medulla theologica* (Amsterdam, 1623). This was translated into English as *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1642), and into Dutch by L. Meyer (Amsterdam, 1656).

[2] Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 158 f.

[3] See Caspari in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie*, 3rd ed., xix, p. 649, 4 ff.

[4] See R. M. Wenley in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii, 1911, p. 245.

[5] This broader view had been taken in the preceding century by Andreas Hyperius, professor in Marburg, who died in 1564 (see Achelis, in Herzog-Hauck, viii, 504).

[6] Herzog-Hauck, xx, p. 718, 21.

students by precept, by judicious praise, by occasional individual interviews, and by urging them to take part in the activities of the Church.[1]

The Walloon churches of the United Netherlands were frequently served by men trained at the Huguenot academies of France, especially at Saumur, Sedan, Montauban, Nîmes, Die, Montpellier, and Orthez. Each had a chair of theology, and usually a chair of Greek and a chair of Hebrew.[2] Ideals of theological education such as characterized the Huguenot academies a few years before their dissolution by Louis XIV were sketched by Êtienne Gaussen, professor of theology at Saumur from 1665 till his death in 1675.[3] He published in 1670 four dissertations, one of which was entitled *De ratione studii theologici*. This was reprinted several times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a guide to reading and study[4] extending well over three years.[5]

At the time when the first ministers in America were actually students in the English universities the mediæval system, so long prevalent in these institutions, had already been much modified, and was still in process of further change.

(*b*) *At Cambridge*

At Cambridge, where most of the early American ministers were trained, the statutes of 1549 had caused the com-

[1] Voetius, *Politica*, ii, pp. 733–736. In his work *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur Labadistischen Krisis 1670*, Wilhelm Goeters devotes many pages to Voetius and his followers; see especially pp. 17-20.

[2] P. D. Bourchenin, in his *Études sur les académies protestantes en France au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1882.—Thèse), pp. 463 ff., gives a partial list of the holders of these chairs. *Cf.* also C. A. Briggs, *History of the Study of Theology*, ii (New York, 1916), pp. 157–161.

[3] F. Lichtenberger, *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, v, Paris, 1878, p. 441 f.; Bourchenin, as cited, p. 331.

[4] Stephani Gausseni, *Dissertationes . . . editio septima, cura Ev. Scheidii*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1792.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

plete recasting of the ancient *trivium*. The study of grammar had been abolished. Mathematics had been substituted for it as the initial study. The further course consisted of dialectics and philosophy, in that order. In place of the *quadrivium* of the bachelor's course there was further instruction in philosophy, and then, perspective, astronomy, and Greek.[1] The Master of Arts, after his term of regency, unless he intended to study law or medicine, was required to give all his attention to theology and Hebrew. Bachelors of divinity had to hear a theological lecture every day, and to take part at least three times in certain disputations in theology, and to preach twice in Latin and once in English.[2] These regulations were, however, further modified by the Elizabethan statutes, so that the following is believed to be a fair summary of the requirements at Cambridge in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Mathematics had, in its turn, been excluded from the prescribed undergraduate course. Professors still lectured in it, but attendance was not compulsory.[3] The text books were antiquated for the period. Logic and rhetoric formed the chief elements of the ordinary academic culture of the time, while theology was the study that received most attention.[4]

There were competent instructors in Hebrew and Greek, but these subjects had fallen into decay. Of the two, the former was more in favor.[5] Ethics, physics, and metaphysics, of the traditional kinds then in vogue, were studied

[1] J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I*, pp. 110, 111, 230; *The University of Cambridge from the Election to the Chancellorship in 1626 to the Decline of the Platonist Movement*, p. 136 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I*, p. 402. As the explanation of this, Mullinger says: "Even at that time, 1632, he [Wallis] tells us, mathematics were more studied in London than at either of the universities, owing to the fact that the subjects included under that designation were looked upon as pertaining to practical life rather than to the curriculum of a university . . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 403, n. 1.) [4] *Ibid.*, p. 414. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

by the more intelligent and industrious students.[1] But, according to high authority,[2] the schoolmen were the final authorities on these subjects, and in questions upon them "the dictum of a Latin or Greek Father was often accepted as final."

(*c*) *At Oxford*

At Oxford the candidate for the B.A., at least in the earlier part of this period, was to pursue parallel courses in collegiate and university training, which involved attendance at lectures and disputations in each. Attendance at the lectures, and the taking of notes upon them, were compulsory. The course is described, and was so at the time, as "*in dialectica*," and included grammar, logic, and rhetoric.[3]

The course for the M.A. was described as "*in utraque philosophia*," *i. e.*, moral and natural.[4] The candidate for the former degree was required to lecture in two ways. First, there was the "*solemnis lectio*," which was a formal lecture, giving an explanation of a particular point, or question.[5] Secondly, there was the "*cursoria lectio*," which consisted in reading through a book, perhaps translating it, and making comments on it. The candidate was also to participate in "disputations," both as respondent

[1] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I*, p. 414. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, p. 66.

[4] Concerning the M.A. at Cambridge: "The studies that belonged to the *quadrivium*, or curriculum for the master of arts degree, sank into insignificance now that residence for that degree was no longer compulsory and the requirements for its attainment had been limited to the keeping of one or two acts and the composition of a single declamation. We may, however, divide the bachelors at this period into two classes: the non-residents (most of whom had ceased to look forward to ever proceeding to their master of arts degree), and the residents, a small minority composed almost exclusively of clerical fellows of colleges, whose time was mainly given to the all-absorbing controversial theology of the day and the composition of 'commonplaces,' to be delivered in the college chapel."—Mullinger, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

[5] *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, p. 76.

and proponent.[1] For the M.A. degree, the Bachelor of Arts had to "read," according to the statute of 1579, first,

duos libros ad minus, unum de veteri logica, et alterum de nova, vel ambos de nova, et unum de libris naturalibus, viz. quattuor Coeli et Mundi, vel quattuor libros Meteorum, aut duos libros de generatione et corruptione, vel librum de sensu et sensato cum libris de memoria et reminiscentia et de somno et vigilia, vel librum de motu animalium cum duobus libris mimetis naturalibus.[2]

The student was conducted through the entire course by the same tutor, who began with him in grammar and finished with the two philosophies, natural and moral.[3]

The period of required residence[4] was, under the Elizabethan statutes, four years for the B.A., and three more for the M.A. Exceptions were made in the cases of the sons of peers, and of knights, and the eldest sons of squires. These might, if they so chose, receive the B.A. in three years, a privilege which, it is said, they usually claimed. There were opportunities for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Latin was supposed to be the language of ordinary intercourse in the colleges; for instance, at meals. But this usage fell into decay, and by the time of Laud's Chancellorship at Oxford was practically extinct at both universities.[5]

The following list[6] of books known to have been purchased by a tutor for the use of an undergraduate of this period is of interest as suggesting the probable range and character of the reading in course.

[1] *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[3] After saying that this was undoubtedly the practice at Oxford between 1570 and 1620, the compiler adds, "at Oxford this system had partially broken down." *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[5] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, vol. iii, p. 136, *sq.*

[6] These were purchased by Ralph Eaton, a tutor for a student in Brasenose; see *The History of Brasenose College*, being volume liii of the *Publications of The Oxford Historical Society*, section xi, p. 20.

Lucius Florus, *de gestis Romanorum, lib. iv.*
Lyford, Wm., *Principles of Faith and good conscience digested into Catechetical forme.*
Sidney, Sir Philip, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.*
Sanderson, Dr. Robert, D.D., *Logicæ Artis Compendium.*
Stahl, Daniel, *Axiomata philosophica.*
Isendoorn, *Logica Peripatetica.*
Wollebius, *Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ.*

The course in arts is said by the best authority to have been at this time "the only portal to theology."[1] And if

[1] *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 7. The following from Mullinger (*The University of Cambridge*, vol. iii, pp. 135–136) should be noted inasmuch as it summarizes the changes of this period as they seem to have produced a rather final form of curriculum: "The Code [Laudian] which, with a few trifling additions, became the law of Oxford down to the University Reform Act of 1854, was largely a digest of the statutes already in force, in which, beyond the removal of certain redundances and discrepancies and the omission of a few obsolete provisions, little was done in the way of alteration. In one respect, indeed, this Code might well seem reactionary, for the importance of dialectic and the authority of Aristotle were to be strenuously inculcated, it being especially enjoined that, on the day of the creation of general Sophisters, one of the Regents should ascend the rostrum (suggestum) in the school of Natural Philosophy, and deliver an address expressly designed to vindicate the above leading features. A genuinely novel element was, however, presented in the addition of certain provisions materially modifying the ordinary curriculum for the degrees of B.A. and M.A. Students were in the future to be required not simply to attend lectures, but also to *pass examinations* in the subjects on which they were lectured. In the B.A. course such subjects were to include grammar, rhetoric, Aristotle's Ethics, Politics, and Economics, logic, moral philosophy, geometry and Greek. In the M.A. course, there was more geometry, and more Greek, together with astronomy, metaphysics, natural philosophy and Hebrew."

Note also the following specimen of a college curriculum at Oxford in 1624 It has no reference to any university schools, and was fixed by statute of Pembroke College in 1624. It consisted of the following: (1) A Catechetical lecture, delivering the sum and foundation of the Christian religion. All Bachelors of Arts and non-graduates were bound to attend, the students of higher grade were invited to do so. (2) A Natural Philosophy lecture and disputations. (3) A Logic lecture. (4) A Rhetoric lecture. (5) A Greek lecture. Theological disputations every other Thursday, and disputations in Philosophy every Saturday. Public declamations by all non-graduates and

one went on with this study, he had to submit to the following requirements, at least in the university of Oxford:

For the degree of B.D. he must have already been M.A. of seven years' standing, which years were to have been spent in attendance upon the lectures of the professor, and participate in the "terminal lectures" in theology when called upon, and in the disputations "pro forma" in the theological school, in one as respondent, in the other as proponent, notice of the questions having been posted fourteen or fifteen days beforehand.

Afterwards, and within a year from admission to the degree of B.D., there was required a sermon in Latin ("*concio ad clerum*"), to be delivered within the university.[1] Of similar requirements for this degree at Cambridge at a later period, Mullinger says:

The statutable requirements (*i. e.*, the Elizabethan) in short were so onerous that the compilers of the code had deemed it expedient to limit those for the doctorate to the payment of a fee and to the propounding and determining that single *quæstio* in the schools, which has since given place to the "Dissertation."[2]

As to the enforcement of the requirements for degrees, there is record of many suspensions and dispensations; and there is reason to believe that the degrees did not always signify the attainment which their possession would imply. But, on the contrary, the exceptions were supposed to be made for cause, and the special reasons for each case were duly presented and recorded.[3] And there is evidence that

commoners in hall every Saturday, and all graduates were to exhibit their themes or exercises. "History of Pembroke College," in *Publications of the Oxford Historical Society*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 188–189.

[1] *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, pp., 132, 136.

[2] Mullinger, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 386, 387.

[3] Dispensations shortening the time for the B.A. degree were granted for certain specified reasons: among these were "that the student might be able to take Holy Orders sooner or more conveniently"; *e.g.*, Mar. 5, 1573–4, William

there was excellent work done by the students of this period. This evidence consists not only of the ability displayed, and the success attained, by graduates in their subsequent careers, but also of recorded instances of hard study in the universities, even to the point of injury to physical health.[1]

The universities had the right to issue licenses to preach. At Oxford it was granted by the congregation upon "supplication" by the candidate, upon the following requirements. It was to be asked for in congregation, and the request was to be published in the next convocation, and leave obtained to affix the seal of the university. The applicant must already have received the M.A. degree, and have disputed in theology at least once, either in the theological school, or in the *comitia*, and have preached at least four times in Christ Church, St. Mary's, or (during Lent) in St. Peter's, and in All Souls', preferably in Latin.[2]

Graduation at Oxford or Cambridge was not a prerequisite to ordination in the Church of England. The Canons of 1603–4 (*c.* 34) set up as a minimum requirement the ability of the candidate to give an account of his faith in Latin according to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to prove the same out of Holy Scripture.[3]

Dain was allowed six Terms, and Nov. 25, 1575, Richard Wignall, two years, for this reason: also, "to make students capable of holding a promised benefice"; *e.g.*, July 4, 1581, Marmaduke Blaxten was allowed one year on this account: and also that "the student is in Holy Orders and is going down to take duty"; *e.g.*, the case of Thomas Warburton, a Presbyter, who was allowed one year, Mar. 7, 1575–6. For these and other instances and reasons, see *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, p. 17. Similar dispensations were granted for the M. A. also; see, *ibid.*, p. 18.

[1] *The History of Brasenose College, ut sup.*, vol. ii, part i, xi, p. 22.

[2] *The Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, part i, p. 131.

[3] E. Gibson, *Codex juris ecclesiastici Anglicani*, second revised edition, Oxford, 1761, i, p. 146. On the sources for this canon see R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, ii, New York, 1910, p. 277.

(*d*) *At Harvard*

Since we have found that Harvard, the only American institution professing to offer a higher education in this period, was even before the middle of the century a potent factor in the training of the ministry of America, it is proper to present at this point its requirements and advantages.[1]

For admission, there was required ability to read Cicero, or some similar classical author, *ex tempore*, and to make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and to decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in Greek. Within the institution, scholars were required to read the Scriptures twice each day, and to be "ready to give an account of their proficiency therein, both in theoretical observations of language and logic, and in practical and spiritual truths," as their tutor might require. It was further ordered that "All Sophisters and Bachelors (until themselves shall make commonplace) shall publicly repeat sermons in the Hall, whenever they are called forth." Ability to read the originals of the Old and the New Testaments into Latin and resolve them logically, accompanied by a good standing as to conduct, enabled the student to obtain his first degree.

A written summary of logic, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, ability "to defend his theses," and skill in the "originals," entitled him to "the second degree of Master of Arts." Latin was the ordinary language of the institution.

Such were the regulations of 1644. To these, in 1650, were added the following:

Henceforth there shall be three weeks of visitation yearly—wherein from nine o'clock to eleven in the forenoon, and from one to three in the afternoon, of the second day of the week, all

[1] See Quincy, J., *History of Harvard College*, pp. 190–191, and Appendices xxvii and xxviii.

scholars of two years' standing and upwards, shall sit in the Hall to be examined by all comers, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, and in Rhetoric, Logic, and Physics; and they that expect to proceed Bachelors that year, to be examined of their sufficiency according to the laws of the college; and such that expect to proceed Masters of Arts, to exhibit their synopsis of acts required by the laws of the college.

The studies in the first year were logic, physics, etymology, syntax, and practice of the principles of grammar; in the second year, ethics, politics, prosody, dialectics, practice of poesy, and Chaldee; in the third, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew and Syriac. Every week every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity. History was taught in the winter and the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month.

(*e*) *The English Universities and Harvard College Compared*

In comparing the curriculum and method of Harvard with those of the English universities of the time, it is to be remembered that the former were in large measure modeled after, and copied from, the latter.[1] This appears to be the

[1] " . . . it should be borne in mind that Harvard, so far as the course of study is concerned, simply adopted the contemporaneous practice of the English universities. . . ." Simpson, Samuel, "Early Ministerial Training in America," (*Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. ii, p. 123).

Mullinger, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 266: "Nor is it less clear that those who carried on the work [of the American colleges], although they affected to consider the condition of both the English universities deplorable, still retained, for the most part, the traditions of their past academic life and the methods of their former teachers." It is hard to understand the remark of Mullinger (*op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 195) to the effect that grammar was not a part of the course at Harvard, unless he makes a distinction between that study and "practice and principles of grammar." See Quincy, *History of Harvard*, vol. i, p. 191.

general agreement of those who have made the matter a subject of special study. The length of term, at least for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, was the same as at Cambridge and Oxford. The colloquial use of Latin, prescribed at Harvard, was in accord with the earlier practice of the English institutions and the reform instituted by Laud as Chancellor of Oxford. The general range of the studies was also the same. The practice of examinations was also a Laudian idea carried over from the English practice which he had originated. The requirement at Harvard of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, as well as the thorough study of the Scriptures in the original languages and in English, and the practice of public speaking and sermonizing,[1] together with the emphasis upon catechetical divinity, might be explained by the fact that, however extensive and general the original design and purpose of the college, the actual practice in this early period was to conduct it chiefly as a school for the training of candidates for the ministry.[2] But even some of these apparently distinctive features are to be found in the contemporary practice of the English institutions. The practice of "common place,"[3] a regular part of the English training, was essentially an exercise in sermonizing. Public declamation was also practised in the English schools, and Hebrew was at least available, and sometimes required, in them. And the chief interest in the English universities at this time was, as has been stated, in the study of theology. The method of instruction by

[1] But see the latter part of note 1 on page 97.

[2] "It was with reference first of all to the suitable training of ministers that the courses at Harvard were arranged: from which it follows naturally that Harvard College at the time of its founding, and for many years thereafter, was in aim and essence more a theological seminary than a college of liberal arts" (Samuel Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

[3] The definition of "commonplace" is quoted by Mullinger from Clarke's *Lives* as follows: "'a college exercise in divinity, not different in form from a sermon, but in length.'" (Mullinger, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 414, note 2).

tutors was also borrowed from the English practice. In considering the attainments and abilities of those ministers who were among the first to be trained at Harvard, it was noticed that certain of them proved to be acceptable ministers in England.[1] And the careers of the Harvard graduates, who by reason of the places of their labor, came into direct and necessary comparison with ministers of English university training, certainly give no ground for any inference that they labored under any handicap because of their American education. At the same time there were, of course, certain advantages possessed by the English institutions. Their age, the large number of students, the atmosphere of culture, the presence of distinguished scholars among instructors and students, and the large libraries naturally made them in these respects superior to any young and poor institution such as Harvard was at that time. Besides this, there seems to have occurred a period of something like decline in the life of Harvard, toward the end of the seventeenth century. The melancholy testimony of Increase Mather seems to justify the inference that this was not confined to the material interests and administrative features of the college.[2] But even so, it is clear that

[1] ". . . as good instruction was afforded here as at the first schools in the old world." (Peirce, *History of Harvard College*, p. 8.) Peirce speaks of the first graduating class, " . . . nine young gentlemen . . . who proved themselves not unworthy of that distinction, by the respectability and eminence to which they afterwards attained both in this country and in Europe." (*Ibid.*, p. 9). "Some gentlemen have sent their sons hither from England, . . . as the judicious and godly Doctor Ames, and divers others" (Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, quoted in Peirce, *op. cit.*, App. p. 21).

[2] Increase Mather, President of Harvard, 1685-1701 (for this period Dexter, *History of Education in the U. S.*, p. 230, says that the president was Cotton Mather; an error, the obviousness of which almost neutralizes it), in a letter to Lieut.-Gov. Stoughton, Dec. 16, 1698 wrote: "Should I leave preaching to one thousand five hundred souls (for I suppose that so many use ordinarily to attend our congregation), only to expound to forty or fifty children, few of them capable of edification by such exercises, I doubt I should not do well." (Quincy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 499, App.)

Mather was just then inclined, because of certain circumstances, to make the most of all discouraging facts. And at that very time, even, the college was training and sending out from among the "children," to whom he so disparagingly refers, men who probably compare favorably with any other body of Harvard graduates.[1]

(*f*) *Post-graduate Study for the Ministry*

But there is to be considered another, and an important, element in the training of the Protestant ministry of America in this period It is the practice of post-graduate study in immediate preparation for the ministry. Mere graduation at college did not in itself qualify the candidate, even academically, for immediate ordination.[2] And, whatever may have been the number of exceptions, it was, in this earlier period, the custom among the Congregationalists of America for the graduate intending to study for the ministry to return to Harvard for two years, more or less, of study in "Divinity." Among the Episcopalians there was also the practice of "reading for orders"; apparently in a way supplemental to the college study.

Throughout the study of this period it should be borne

[1] Among those graduated at Harvard from 1697–1701 were: Hugh Adams, Ames Angier, Jno. Barnard, Jonathan Belcher, Richard Billings, Dudley Bradstreet, Simon Bradstreet, Robert Breck, Jno. Bulkley, Samuel Burr, Josiah Cotton, Theophilus Cotton, Peter Cutler, Timothy Cutler, Jeremiah Dummer, Nathaniel Hubbard, Israel Loring, Samuel Mather, Samuel Moody, Joseph Parsons, Josiah Willard, Oxenbridge Thacher, besides several others. (*Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636–1915*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 123.)

[2] Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 125. It is also to be observed that in the case of certain students for the ministry the whole course, from the entrance to college, and sometimes even before, had been pursued with a direct view to the ministry, and had been constantly supplemented by studies and work of a kind especially related to it; the early entrance of such students upon their work as ministers does not, therefore, constitute a real exception to the rule.

in mind that among the ecclesiastical bodies of English derivation there was not that sense of separateness between the English and American institutions of all sorts which has developed with the expanding life of the newer country, and the political separation from England. The American Episcopalians were at this time merely a part of an English diocese.[1] And there seems to have been the strongest kind of feeling of community of life and identity of ecclesiastical fellowship between the Congregationalists of the two countries. And among the Dutch the condition was simply that the American candidates could receive ordination only in Holland.[2] There must have been, therefore, a common ideal on both sides of the Atlantic as to the training of the ministry. Indeed, it was only in New England that there was as yet any attempt to undertake a native American training for this office. And this, as has been shown, was largely patterned after the plan in operation in the mother country, and accepted in the latter without question.

5. The Closing Years of the Seventeenth Century

There are certain features of the church life in America in the latter portion of the seventeenth century—roughly speaking, the last quarter of it—that are not without their import for the subject of this study.

(*a*) *The First Purely Native Ministry*

These features have as a common characteristic the manifestation of a growing independence of the mother

[1] Not formally nor legally, but practically; see *American Church History Series*, vol. vii, pp. 23, 27.

[2] The Classis of Amsterdam was the administrative body most influential in ordaining and sending out ministers to the colonies. Its *Deputati ad res exteras* were practically a foreign mission board. They drew up elaborate regulations, but did not secure the monopoly of the right to ordain men for the colonies (*Ecclesiastical Records*, i, p. 89 ff.; p. 125 f.).

church. Or, more precisely, this period contains the visible beginnings of a tendency toward such an independence.

(1) Among the Episcopalians, the coming of the Rev. James Blair as the first commissary of the Bishop of London made possible the local exercise of the episcopal power in a way not known before.

(2) A little before this among the Dutch there had occurred the first slight attempt at local autonomy,[1] but none at local training for their candidates.

(3) In New England, a new era was already begun. For, by the close of the century, and indeed long before, this section had a fully developed native-born and native-trained American ministry, the first purely American ministry ever developed. Already, therefore, there was beginning to be an American type of minister, not only in birth and breeding, but also in education.

(*b*) *The Founding of William and Mary College*

Growing directly out of one of the above-noted circumstances was an event that was intended to extend the same tendency that had reached such a great degree of development in New England. It was the founding of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, by Commissary Blair. The motive for the founding of this institution is shown by the petition of May 20, 1691, addressed by the General Assembly of Virginia to the King and Queen, which declared that there was need in the colony for an opportunity for the liberal education of its youth, and also to afford means of securing promptly pious and learned clergymen for the vacant parishes. The instructions[2]

[1] It is the ordination of Peter Tesschenmaeker, a young licensed bachelor of divinity of the University of Utrecht (*American Church History Series*, vol. viii, p. 74).

[2] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 385; Heatwole, C., *A History of Education in Virginia*, p. 70: "As early as 1660 an act of the General Assembly runs—

formulated by the Assembly defined the mission of Blair to England in behalf of the proposed college as one to secure a charter for a free school and college, in which Latin, Greek, philosophy, mathematics, and divinity should be taught. Nothing in the college was to be ordained contrary to the canons of the Anglican Church. The implication of the whole plan, in so far as it was related to the training of the ministry, is that it was to facilitate the development of native reinforcements.

The original charter of the institution provided for a grammar school, in which were to be taught Latin and Greek; a school of philosophy and mathematics; and one of divinity and the oriental languages. Of the five chairs called for by the charter, two were for divinity.[1]

Though the charter was granted in 1693, and the work of the grammar school begun in 1697, the further development of the college was very slow. Ten years after its foundation it was still without the professorships originally intended.[2] But its work was begun, and was destined to have its effect later on, not only on the education of the community in general, but on that of candidates for orders as well.[3] At the very least, the establishment of the school

'that, for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of ministry, and the promotion of piety there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free school'. . . ."

[1] Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 398.

[2] *Ibid.* In 1699 Professor Inglis, of the College, complained "that it still retained a mere grammar school without these professorships of Philosophy, Physics, Mathematics, and Divinity, which had been originally intended."

[3] Meade, W., *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, vol. i, p. 167: "All the letters of Governor Gooch and Commissary Dawson [Blair's successor] to the Bishop of London show them to be truly anxious to promote the best interests of the colony. . . . One thing is set forth in praise of William and Mary College . . . viz.: that the hopes and designs of its founders and early benefactors in relation to its being a nursery of pious ministers, were not entirely disappointed. It is positively affirmed by those most competent to speak, that the best ministers in Virginia were those educated at the College and sent over to England for ordination."

is significant, especially for this discussion, as an illustration of the spirit that was becoming more and more charactertistic of the period, and as a manifestation of it within an ecclesiastical organization that rejoiced in being a corporate part of the Church of England. And especially is it to be noticed in this connection that this manifestation of a spirit which tended to develop local control of local affairs in the colonies appears particularly in connection with the training of the ministry.

(*c*) *The Anglican Ideal: Dodwell's Letters*

Since, however, the Anglican churches did actually continue throughout this period to depend practically for all their clergymen on England and the English Church, and the practice in the Established Church was the one that determined at least the general form of the training actually received by their ministers, it is, perhaps, well to consider what was the accepted ideal of the preparation proper for the candidate for orders in the English Church of the time. That is, we now seek to discover what, in addition to a university course, was the special immediate preparation for "orders" in the Anglican Church.

In 1672 Henry Dodwell, M.A. and Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, published his *Two Letters of Advice*. In the preface he emphasizes the disrespect into which the clergy of the Established Church at that time had fallen, and alleges it as the reason for the *Letters*. He announces that he has especially in view the criticisms of the "Separatists" against the clergy of the Establishment, and that his object is to meet these not by defending, but by correcting, the defects of the clergy, which he admits and laments as existing at least in a sufficient number of instances in the Church in Ireland to justify special attention. While he indeed mentions as the ground of the Separatist criticism, "negligence of life and unserious way of preaching," yet it

will be observed that in this suggested method of meeting these criticisms, he proposes to remove the ground for them by prescribing at length a system of preparatory study, in addition to his earnest exhortation to a proper mode of life on the part of the clergy.[1]

In the "Epistle Dedicatory," preceding the *Letters* and addressed to the Primate of the Irish Church, he says that, so far as he knows, no similar attempt up to that time had been made.[2]

The first of the *Letters* is intended for the undergraduate looking to orders.[3] The course of reading suggested is intended with special reference to the student's future work as a minister, and seems designed to supplement his regular work in the university courses. The author insists (1) on the necessity of acquaintance with the original languages and texts of the Scriptures, naming Greek as "that which can with less security be neglected," and (2) on a knowledge of Jewish antiquities, which he describes as

> very necessary for clearing some things of so momentous a consideration, and so ordinary practice, as that you may not be able without them, to give a full satisfaction to your parochial cure, in doubts that may nearly concern them, which will therefore require a skill in Rabbins, if not in the Hebrew Tongue wherein they were written.

He advises (3) a study of the "Fathers of the first and purest centuries, especially those that are, by the consent of all, concluded genuine, and that lived before the Empire turned Christian . . . ." This is urged with the interesting suggestion that it is necessary to interpret Scripture in the "Historical Way."[4] (4) Skill in the controversies is named as the next requisite; that is, skill in those that "separate any considerable Communions of Christians."

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 10, 11, 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 5.
[3] Title of *Letter I*, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

He writes (5), "that which you can least of all want, is a study too *much neglected*, because too little *experienced* among Protestants, that of Casuistical Divinity."[1]

Letter II is intended principally for a graduate, "presumed to have read over his course already once."[2] In it the author recommends "that too much decried study among Protestants of School Divinity." Chaldee and Syriac are prescribed in addition to Hebrew. "Antiquities" are here considered as including "the Ceremonies of the Chaldæan and Phœnician Idolatry," though he is of the opinion that "there are no very great assistances for it in our now extant writers." Knowledge of the "first Haeryses" is also considered advisable. Other subjects suggested are "Natural Divinity," "Natural Philosophy," and "Metaphysicks." "The nature of the Soul, and of its operations" should be studied, "first Physically as they are handled in Aristotle's books de Anima; and this especially the rational and intellectual degree—and then Morally in Ethics." "For Controversial Logick" he mentions "nothing," because he believes, as he states, that "there is little in it necessary to your purpose but is borrowed from Metaphysicks" . . . . The Rabbins and Philo and Josephus are recommended "for the Historical Relation of those opinions and practices that afterwards prevailed, and are frequently alluded to in the New Testament." He writes also that he conceives "it convenient to read the ancient Greek Poets together with their Greek Scholiasts, and that you do not look on them as idle Romances, but as grave Philosophers and Historians; for such they were reputed not only in their own times, but also by all their followers, as involving Divine, and Natural, and Historical notions of their Gods and Heroes under physical and Parabolical expressions."

It is interesting to note that he advises also the study of Greek origins, that is, "with what other learned nations

[1] Page 58. [2] Page 202.

they had commerce, from which they might probably derive their Philosophical and Theological learning."

It is his opinion that "much assistance" in understanding the religious rites of the Egyptians, may be derived "from the Aegyptian Hieroglyphicks (though that also be thought by many unprofitable learning)." An acquaintance with the "Theory of the ancient Magick" was, by this author, deemed advisable, and he thought a knowledge of "Coptite or ancient Aegyptiack" useful in interpreting prophecy.[1]

Under the various subjects of study considered there are suggested and discussed, in the case of each, various text-books in which they might be studied. The work closes with a list of books specially recommended.[2]

The author explains at the outset that he is attempting to meet the needs of a beginner and does not wish to discourage by prescribing too extensive a course.[3] It should be noted that he decidedly disapproves of, and warns against, the study of "School Divinity" by the "Peripatetick" method, which he judges to be too much the practice of his time.[4]

Here, then, we have the expression of at least the ideal entertained by an earnest member of the Established Church in Ireland as to the kind of training (and certain of its specific items) proper to the clergy, accompanied by the confession that his ideal was by no means sufficiently realized in the actual practice at least of the Church of which he was a member. It is worth while to note that the publication has the approval of the Irish Primate. It is clear that fundamentally, and in certain specific features, it is virtually identical with the course prescribed and in actual use as the preparation for the ministry offered by Harvard at the time

[1] *Two Letters of Advice*, etc., p. 259.
[2] There is also a list appended to *Letter I.*
[3] See the Preface.
[4] *Ibid.*

and for years before. The suggestion as to Chaldee and Syriac is especially noticeable.

(*d*) *A New Element: The Presbyterians*

The latter part of the seventeenth century was marked by the appearance of a new element in the ecclesiastical life of America, which was destined to have a great effect upon the training of the Protestant ministry of the country. This was the Presbyterian Church. While Presbyterians and their churches, and ministers of this order, had been in the country before this, it was not until the later years of the century that this Church began to be an effective force in the general life of the colonies. Indeed, it does not appear that there had been, all told, more than four Presbyterian pastors in America up to this time, including among them Doughty and Denton, who seem to have been Presbyterian more in name than in actual affiliation.[1] At any rate, counting all that can be so considered, it is recognized that the first ministers of this Church in America were immigrant, and that they were trained for their work. Like that of the kindred body, the Dutch Reformed Church, its ministry was required by ecclesiastical law to have been previously trained in academic and theological studies. The determination of their qualifications in this, as in other respects, was also, as in the Dutch Church, vested in the governing ecclesiastical body, *i.e.*, the Presbytery. Like the Congregationalists they were, however, clothed, at the organization of the first Presbytery, with full local autonomy, and discretion in conferring ordination, judging of the qualifications of candidates, and enforcing the educational requirements. They had the advantages of both the other bodies with which they are here compared, without being dependent, on the one hand, on the decision of a transatlantic authority, or, on the other, on the possible variation of

[1] *American Church History Series*, vol. vi, p. 15.

popular demand and custom. This peculiar situation enabled them to develop quickly a ministry, both native and trained to a recognized standard.[1]

With the exception, however, of the occasional accessions from the Congregationalists, the ministry of the Presbyterians was for some years necessarily foreign, both in birth and training. Of the earliest Presbyterian ministry, Dr. Archibald Alexander has written:

> The first Presbyterian ministers in this country were nearly all men of liberal education. Some had received their education in the universities of Scotland; some in Ireland; and others at one of the New England colleges. And though there existed such a destitution of ministers in this new country they never thought of introducing any man into the ministry, who had not received a college or university education; except in very extraordinary cases; of which, I believe, we have but one instance in the early history of the Presbyterian church.[2]

Their influence in the sphere of ministerial education was to appear in the next century.

Francis Makemie, from whose arrival in 1683 ecclesiastical Presbyterianism in America is usually dated, is known to have been a man of ability, and was already a minister in his native country. He had been a student of the University of Glasgow. Josias Mackie,[3] who came in 1692, disposed by his will of a library, which is described as "valuable to an educated divine," and contained "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and English good books."

[1] *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, pp. 141, 146, the action of the Synod, May 29, 1738, and May 26, 1739.

[2] *Biographical Sketches of the Founder, and Principal Alumni of the Log College*, p. 14. Of the period, 1795–1841, Dr. Charles Hodge has said (*The History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, pt. i, p. 214), "The great majority of our ministers were presbyterially educated and ordained." *Cf.* Briggs, C. A., *American Presbyterianism*, App., p. xliv.

[3] Sprague, *Annals*, vol. iii, p. 5.

These seem to be the Presbyterian ministers of this century in America whose careers are at present sufficiently well known to permit of positive statement.

6. The General Standard of the Time

(*a*) *The Popular Demand and Other Influences*

The standard of ministerial qualification is determined chiefly by the force of three influences. These are ecclesiastical practice, ecclesiastical law, and popular demand.[1] During the seventeenth century all three were active in America. At first, the most potent were ecclesiastical practice and popular demand. That is, the scope of the possible influence of these was larger, in the case of each, than was the scope of the other factor. For the ministry and the people, coming from England, naturally brought with them the ideas most prevalent among the Anglicans and Nonconformists of that country; and it was ecclesiastical use and wont, together with popular demand, that had determined the qualifications of the English ministry of both sorts. Throughout the period, the English standard remained the American standard for the colonies sprung from England. In Virginia, Anglican authority reinforced English custom. In New England, unhindered nonconformity seems to have developed along the lines natural to that portion of the body which had remained in England. And in both these sections the popular demand was for

[1] The *realization* of the standard is, of course, conditioned by other things such as the economic ability of the people, facilities for travel, climate, *etc.* But even so potent a factor in this as the economic situation does not have the necessary and direct effect in determining the standard held. The attitude exhibited in the past, at least, by certain denominations of Christians toward the idea of a trained ministry illustrates this. For, with as much facility of every sort at their disposal as other denominations they did not by any means insist upon a high standard of education.

a "learned," as well as a "godly," ministry. This is manifested in various expressions of the popular sentiment of the time, especially in connection with the first suggestions as to the establishment of schools of higher learning.[1] In New England this popular sentiment was especially strong, because of the average of education among the population.[2] For, among Protestants, the average of popular education, or at least of appreciation of education, is directly related to, and determines the force and degree of, the popular demand as to the education of the ministry.

Popular demand was not, however, the only influence effective in New England in determining the educational qualifications of the ministry there in this period. For even during the "Puritan decline," which was well under way before the period closed, and was a decline in popular education as well as in religion and morals,[3] the records show no lowering of the standard of attainment for the ministry. In zeal, preaching power, and, possibly, in actual ability, it

[1] *Sup.*, pp. 94 ff.; Clap, Thomas, *History of Yale College*, p. 62.

[2] Dexter (*History of Education in the United States*, p. 223) estimates that in 1638 the average in Massachusetts and Connecticut was one university graduate to every two hundred and fifty of the population. Compare Simpson, *Early Ministerial Training in America*, p. 116: "Never in the history of the country, in fact, has the educational average of any given community exceeded that of Massachusetts for the first half century after its settlement."

Of Virginia, Bruce, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 442, says: " . . . there are several unmistakable indications that a high degree of culture prevailed among the members of at least a section of the upper planting class." And, pp. 442, 443: "It should be remembered that a very large number of the citizens of Virginia during this century were men like Richard Lee, the elder Nathaniel Bacon, John Page, William Randolph, the elder Robert Beverley, William Fitzhugh, and hundreds of others of almost equal prominence, who not only had been born in England, but had acquired in the institutions there the learning that would enable them to read the Latin and Greek authors with facility." See the whole of chapter xvii.

For the Dutch and the Presbyterians see Thwing, Charles F., *A History of Higher Education in America.*

[3] Walker, George Leon, *Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England*, p. 44.

may have shared in the general decay of the time. But its members were still graduates of Harvard and students of "Divinity." Such was the power of ecclesiastical practice even when the corresponding and supporting influence of popular opinion had, probably at least, degenerated into a habit of considering the minister as naturally of superior education, and no longer registered an imperative demand that would be satisfied with nothing less.

Among the Dutch, all three of these forces were operative. The people themselves were educated and accustomed at home to an educated ministry, which was maintained by an unvarying ecclesiastical practice that had been established, and that was enforced by ecclesiastical law. To violate the latter they had no power—if they had desired to do so—because of their dependent relation. The Presbyterians also brought with them the same three influences which were all operative in the direction of a trained ministry, whatever may have been the occasional lapses of opinion, or practice, or the exceptions allowed in the enforcement of law.

We may say, then, that at the close of the seventeenth century there appears no evidence that would justify a conclusion either from the operation of the forces which we know were active at the time, or from the records that have been preserved, that there had occurred up to this time any deliberate lowering of the standard of requirement of academic training for the ministry of Protestants in America, or any lowering at all of the educational standard in its actual realization, except in so far as Harvard College could not afford facilities equal to those of the establishments of Great Britain, and in so far as in the case of the Episcopal clergy the colonial churches may have suffered by the appointment to them of men inferior in attainment to the average clergyman in the Church in England.

(*b*) *Bray's "Bibliotheca Parochialis"*

As to the last point, it is appropriate to adduce here at some length a statement of the work of Commissary Bray in Maryland, already mentioned. His arrival in America was in 1699, and his work, though carried on for many years from England because of his early return to that country, properly closes the seventeenth century, and opens the eighteenth.

In presenting his plan[1] for furnishing the American parishes, especially those of Maryland, with libraries, which were to be the property of the churches, and open to the use of the successive ministers in them, he refers to the state of the clergy of the time in England itself, upon which the Anglican churches in the colonies were absolutely dependent for their ministerial supply. He alludes specifically to the publication entitled *The Contempt of the Clergy*,[2] in which the author had assigned, as the causes of the contempt alleged, ignorance and poverty. He then remarks:

I. As for Ignorance in our proper calling, it must indeed of necessity cause the Contempt of those who are found to be such. In any Calling a Person is valu'd proportionably to his Knowledge and Skill therein; especially in ours. And yet I do not see how it is possible for most of us to fall short of a compleat Knowledge in the whole Body, even of Preachable Divinity, as the case stands with most of us; for one Third of the Livings of *England* come not up to 50£ *per annum*, which I am sure will afford but very little, if anything at all, to purchase Books with, . . . and yet without Reading of such Books, at least, as are of more immediate use to inform ourselves in all the Terms of the Covenant of Grace, that so we may be able to instruct others,

[1] Bray, Thomas, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* (London, 1697). In 1916 the Thomas Bray Club reprinted privately as *Thomas Bray Publications*, Nos. 1–7, in an edition of fifty-five copies, seven pamphlets or extracts, some of which throw light on his plans for theological education and for parish libraries.

[2] *Ibid.*, "Introductory address to the Clergy of England and Ireland."

how is it possible (now that Inspiration is ceas'd) but that we should be ignorant to our own extreme Disgrace, and the infinite Prejudice of those Souls committed to our Charge? And again, except we shall have a Collection of such Books, either of our own, or somewhere near at hand, whence we may borrow 'em, how is it possible we should ever read 'em?[1]

The intimate connection of the degree of learning, or at least of the opportunity for the continued cultivation of learning, possessed by the clergy, with other of the evils complained of is acknowledged as follows:

II. And the having of the Lending Libraries near at hand, I do also humbly conceive will contribute not a little, to prevent that other occasion of our Contempt, *viz.* Poverty; at leastwise, as to many of us: for this I am very certain of, that many of the Clergy in Poorer Livings, who are Bookishly given (and 'tis pity that ever any should enter into Holy Orders who are not of this Spirit) can scarce keep themselves clear of the Booksellers' Accounts, nor Money in their Pockets for their necessary Occasions, because of their Charges that way; . . .[2] Well, and if there be any Truth in that other Imputation, as the Cause of our Contempt, which the Adversaries of our Church are so apt to charge us withal; *viz.* The scandalous Immoralities, which perhaps it may be too true that some may be guilty of; I do humbly conceive that this Scandal also may be in a great measure remov'd, by the same means of having Lending Libraries. For whence is it that many seek for Company and Diversion abroad, but for want of the better Society of good entertaining Authors at home; The Truth of it is, there are a sort of writers which are traditionally handed down from one Old Study to another, who are not such a good Humour'd and Inviting Society as to make one delight much in their Conversation. But what Man of Spirit or Education, had he a Justin Martyr, a Tertullian or Cyprian; a Sanderson, a Hammond or Tillotson, come to visit him, would leave such Men of Sense for the Society of the Sons of *Belial*.

[1] *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, "Introductory address." [2] *Ibid.*

. . . In short, I look upon the thing of Libraries to be the great *Desideratum*, even here in England. . . .[1]

He declares further that such libraries are a necessity in "the foreign Plantations," saying, "for here some few of the Clergy are able to buy a sufficient Stock of Books for themselves, but it is very rarely that those who go into *America* are in such a Condition; . . . "[2]

It is evident that the author is confronted by conditions at home similar to those that called forth the efforts of Henry Dodwell in Ireland a quarter of a century before. It is clear that, while the Anglican churches of the colonies were exposed to the danger of a clergy not especially characterized by a manifestation of theological learning, they were thereby no worse off than some of the churches in England; and the latter were numerous enough to have called forth the strictures of the publication which Bray discusses, and his admissions that there were facts that tended to justify such strictures. While it is, of course, by no means to be inferred that the English clergy referred to in the above quotations were, as a class, either in England or America, uneducated, yet the fact remains that Dr. Bray confesses to the charge of ignorance as being justified sufficiently to prompt his earnest and energetic effort to correct the situation in America and to suggest a remedy for it in England. Moreover, the book in which his statements occur is a part of the literature of the general subject of ministerial training. For it is the *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such Theological Heads both General and Particular, as are More particularly Requisite to be well Studied by every Pastor of a Parish. Together with a Catalogue of Books Which may be Read upon these Points.* That the author's purpose is broader than his intention to assist the American

[1] *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, "Introductory address." [2] *Ibid.*

clergy alone is made clear by his statement, "that this Catalogue is published with some design to help our Young Students in Theology since it may be a piece of Service to some of them, to direct them in the Choice of such Books, as will be of most necessary and immediate use to them on their Ministerial Instructions to the People . . . "[1] It is his opinion also that for the want of proper books "all the *Terms* of the *Baptismal Covenant* are scarcely Preach'd over to them in many places," "in the whole Course of some Men's Ministry." And again he says, "I hope it will not be imputed to me, as Arrogance, to offer what looks like a direction in this case, especially when it is to my Brethren of the lowest Form in the Church that I do herein apply myself."[2]

His ideal of the training for the ministry may be inferred from the following:

> I say, the Business of a Divine is of that comprehensive extent, that good Skill even in Nature, Mathematicks and Laws, which may seem most remote from his Business, is not only an Accessary and Ornamental to his Profession but of exceeding great use for the Explication and Proof of some of the principal Subjects he is to discourse upon to the People, and also for the Defence of the most *Fundamental Articles of Faith*, that he is to maintain against the *Atheist* and *Anti-scripturist*.[3]

He admits, however, that, practically, it is not wise to insist on the actual realization of this ideal. For he writes:

> But as for those who are to serve in the Plantations, I do not at this distance foresee the necessity of their being provided of more than such a Sett of Books, as shall be of absolute necessity to enable 'em to declare the whole Will of God, so as may suffice to the Information of Plain and Illiterate Men. . . .[4]

In this appears an illustration of the operation of what was conceived as the popular demand to modify the application of the ideal of ecclesiastical practice.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 10. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

We have in this book also a hint of the hopes entertained as to the influence, and an evidence of the purpose of the founders, of the College of William and Mary. For the author continues:

> Not but that we could wish to have one Library of more Universal Learning, to have recourse upon occasion, in every *Province*, and shall especially endeavor to have one in the College which is now Erecting in Virginia, by the Favour and Bounty of his most Excellent Majesty and our late B. Queen . . . .[1]

The topics suggested are not essentially different from those proposed by Dodwell, who wrote for the benefit of a candidate for orders. But the list of books is more extensive, since it is intended to constitute a library. There is no mention of the original languages as subjects of study, the correct inference from the omission probably being that ability to read them is presupposed. This is confirmed by the prescription of editions of the Scriptures in the originals and the omission of textbooks on these languages.

(*c*) *Ford's Criticism*

The ministerial training of this particular time, especially in America, has been criticized for its lack of breadth, and because it was "confined to philosophy, logic, dogma, and the dry husks of theological disputation, materials for culture that have become more curious than useful, and more capable of historical use than of actual application to the problems of life in general."[2]

But in valuing any such estimate of the ministerial training of this period it should be remembered that the branches named as those to which this training was "con-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

[2] Ford, Worthington Chauncey, "Diary of Cotton Mather," p. xv (*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Seventh Series, vol. vii).

fined," constituted, in actual fact, only a part of it. The critic, from whatever reason, has wholly omitted any reference to the rest of the course. He indeed leaves the distinct impression that there was no general college or university training required at all. On the contrary it was just this that was required. At the very least it was presupposed, especially among the Congregationalists, whose practice is the specific object of the criticism, that a man who would prepare especially for the ministry would have had a collegiate training. And to one looking from the beginning of his education toward the ministry, a collegiate education, of the most general sort then existent, was the first stage of his preparation. This in itself presupposed a grounding in the classics, upon which indeed it was based; and it included a special training in Greek and Hebrew, and, in America at least, in Chaldee and Syriac, besides the persistent cultivation of Latin, and the whole curriculum of Harvard, the cultural value of certain of the subjects being unto this hour recognized at least by many, probably most, of the leading institutions of higher learning. It is also to be kept in mind that while the theological disputations of that time do seem to-day, to many people to consist of "dry husks," and appear as of little value in "the actual application to the problems of life," they did not seem so to the people of that time, whether clergy or laity. The theological questions, for instance, concerning sin, guilt, and the securing of acceptance with God, which seem to be of little concern to many of to-day, were then regarded as most vital, and did have their actual bearing upon the practical problems of life, as the conclusions regarding them were courageously applied to these very problems, or as the doubts regarding them really and seriously disturbed the life and conduct of people of that age. And again, how a purely theoretical notion of what seems a remote theological question could, and did, affect the actual life of the people,

is appallingly illustrated in the application of certain definite theories of the power and activity of supposedly existent demoniacal beings, which is known in American history as the "witchcraft delusion"; the basic principles of which were held by men of education and intellect in England and on the continent of Europe just as surely as they were by any in America.[1] It is to be remembered also that the standard of educational requirement for the ministry at the time was not lower in the colonies than it was in the mother country. Any implication, therefore, which may possibly be intended in the criticism before us, that the clerical education in New England at this period was narrow as compared with that in England, is mistaken. Indeed, it appears that the criticism is erroneous as to the range of the educational training of the ministry at the time, and inconsiderate as to the practical utility of such training, and fitted to leave a wrong impression as to its comparative breadth in relation to the training of the ministry in England at the same period.

It is to be admitted, however, that the training was narrow when compared with the education of more modern times. But the same is true of the training for any of the professions or vocations. For the fact is clear that the training of the American ministry at this period was designed to be just as broad as the scope of university education then was. If this was contracted, it was so for all who were trained under it, and not for the ministry alone.

[1] Notestein, Wallace, *A History of Witchcraft in England*, 1558–1718, pp. 1–2; Burr, George Lincoln, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases*, pp. 3, 5.

II

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. From the Beginning of the Century to the Great Awakening, or About 1740

The period immediately before us is characterized by the appearance and development of new forces in the religious and ecclesiastical life of America. To trace all these and their effect on the educational standard of the ministry of the country would be to extend this paper beyond practical limits. It is sufficient, perhaps, to consider simply certain facts that are a part of the history of the ministerial training of the time.

(*a*) *The Ideal: Samuel Willard's Tract*

As showing at least some of the features of the ideal of ministerial training held at this time by those especially interested in it, there is a tract[1] written by Samuel Willard, Vice-president of Harvard. It was not printed until 1735. But the introductory note by the editors refers to manuscript copies previously existing, and distinctly asserts its actual previous circulation in that form.[2] The author became Vice-president in 1701 and died in 1707. He therefore probably wrote it within these dates, though, of course, he may have done so earlier. It is the earliest American production on the general subject of ministerial

[1] Evans, *Bibliography*, No. 3976.

[2] "When we have declared that Care hath been taken by comparing several Copies to offer nothing to the reader, which was not the genuine Product of the great Skill and Experience of that Judicious Divine the Rev. Mr. Willard; we can't suppose that this Tract, in which you have much in a little, will need Recommendation. . . . We embrace this Opportunity of expressing our Thankfulness and Joy, that these excellent Rules for the Study of Divinity, are made more extensively useful by the Press than while dispursed in a few private Manuscripts."—The Preface to the *Brief Directions to a young Scholar designing the Ministry for the Study of Divinity*, p. 3.

training that I have been able to find. While it does not specify details as fully as could be wished, and is by no means as comprehensive as the works of Bray and Dodwell, yet it does serve to indicate the general idea of the Congregationalists of America at the period when it was written, that being the close of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century, and (which is significant) in the midst of the period that has been called the "Puritan Decline."

After stating the preliminary qualifications as to character, the writer prescribes (iv) that the student should endeavor to discover the "true Science of Scripture," distinguishing the "Grammatical," "Logical," and "Theological" senses, and urges as necessary to this study of the original languages of the Scripture, grammar, "Rhetorick," and "Logick." He further suggests (v) the practice of reducing "Texts" to "Heads of Divinity"; (vi) the study of "Systematical or Commonplace Divinity"; (vii) "Casuistical Divinity"; (viii) "Polemical Divinity"; and (ix) the reading of approved authors in the various subjects. He however, gives no list of these, nor any list of books. The student is advised to use his own judgment upon the books that he reads, and to "Collect Errors and Heresies," making notes on the margin of the books, and meditating on what he reads. The author further suggests (x) the study of "Natural Philosophy" and "History," especially "Ecclesiastical History." In section xi, the use of "Reference Books" is advised. But again there is no list given. Section xii urges the practice of actual exercises in "Commonplace Divinity." The final item (xiii) advises "Conference" with "other, and able, ministers." It will be noticed that there is included in this summary of the course of special study for one who would prepare for the ministry that subject which Dodwell lamented as "too much decried" among Protestants, that is, "Casuistical Divinity," which

is probably an indication of the essential agreement of those who made the subject of the ministerial training for the Protestant churches a subject of special study and thought.

In forming a general estimate of the value of the course here outlined, it should not be overlooked that the author has included in his brief list of topics (and the brevity warrants the presumption that the inclusion of any subject indicates that it was deemed essential) natural philosophy and history, in addition to, or rather along with, those subjects of "Divinity," etc., which, as we have noticed, are supposed even by distinguished authority to have formed the sum total of the studies of the candidate for the ministry in America at this time.

(*b*) *Yale College*

The next event in the sphere of ministerial education in America was the founding of Yale College. More specifically and definitely than was stated in the case of Harvard, the declared purpose of this institution was the training of the ministry.[1] It was confessedly designed to be practically a theological seminary, beginning, however, with the collegiate courses, and having no separate theological faculty, or chair of divinity exclusively. This shows how clearly and sharply there existed in the minds of the founders the conception that the training of the ministry should be simply as broad as the college curriculum of the times. And it is

[1] On Nov. 21, 1753, the principal design of the institution was declared to have been "to educate and train up youth for the Ministry, in the Churches of this Colony, according to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Mode of Worship received and practised in them: and they [the founders] particularly ordain that the Students should be established in the Principles of Religion and grounded in the Polemical Divinity, according to the Assembly's *Catechism*, Ames's *Medulla*, and *Cases of Conscience*." (Clap, Thomas, *History of Yale College*, p. 62.) This, of course, was not the exclusive design. See action of the Trustees, Nov. 11, 1701; *ibid.*, p. 9.

not too much to say that this was the conception generally held at the time. But from entrance, and throughout their course, the students were trained in "theoretical divinity." They were required to memorize the Assembly's catechism, and to be instructed in Ames's *Theological Theses* and *Cases of Conscience*. The Scriptures were to be read and taught "according to the laudable Order and Usage of Harvard College." On the Sabbath there was to be exposition of "practical theology by the Rector of the college, or sermons by the undergraduates." The students were also to be grounded in "Polemical Divinity." The entrance requirements, at least under President Clap, were ability to "well construe Tully's *orations*, *Virgil*, and the *Greek Testament*," and the understanding of the "Rules of Common Arithmetic." In the first year Hebrew was taught, and the languages generally; a "beginning" was made in the study of logic, and some parts of "the Mathematics." In the second year the subjects of study were "Languages, Logick, Rhetoric, Oratory, Geography, and Natural Philosophy," while it is said that "some" also in this year made "good preparing" in trigonometry and algebra. In the third year, "Natural Philosophy, most branches of Mathematics," and, for "many," "Surveying, Navigation, and the Calculation of Eclipses" were the studies. "Conic Sections" and "Fluxions" were also taught in this year. In the fourth year the course consisted of "Metaphysicks, Ethicks, and Divinity," the student thus ending as he had begun.

A tutor took each class through three years, and the President completed their instruction in the fourth. The latter provision appears as an improvement on the system of the English universities in the preceding century. Students recited to the tutors in the chambers of the latter, being questioned on all principal matters in the book that was the subject of special study.

A further feature of the method of instruction in certain

subjects is described as follows: "In all Delineations and Calculations a silent Number, with proper Instruments in their Hands, are instructed at a Table." The two upper classes disputed on Mondays "in the Sylogistick Form, and every Tuesday in Forensick." Twice a week five or six delivered declamations *memoriter*, these productions having been previously corrected as to "Orthography and Punctuation" by the tutors. In each quarter there were at least two "Orations," besides those on special occasions, prepared under the oversight of the President.[1] The emphasis placed on mathematics during President Clap's administration is very evident from the above, which is taken from his own presentation of the work as carried on under him. Very soon, and of course long before the day of President Clap, this institution divided with Harvard the work of training the ministry not only of New England and the Congregationalists, but also those of other sections and ecclesiastical denominations of America.

(*c*) *The Hollis Professorship at Harvard*

The next important development in the training of the ministry in America was the establishment in 1721 of the first chair of divinity in the country.[2] This was the Hollis professorship at Harvard. There seems reason to believe that before this the President of the institution had been accustomed virtually to discharge this office, although the name was not given to his work.[3] But the establish-

[1] For all these requirements see Clap, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 81, 82.

[2] Quincy, J., *History of Harvard University*, vol. i, pp. 534–539.

[3] "The President continuing his theological expositions and exercises, and the Tutors their Instructions in Divinity to their pupils as formerly" (*Proceedings of the Overseers*, Jan. 10, 1721). *Cf.* J. Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 538. "The President gave lectures in theology and ecclesiastical history, and was in fact professor of divinity" [*i. e.* before the establishment of the regular chair] (Alden Bradford in *American Quarterly Register*, May, 1837, vol. ix, p. 349).

ment of a separate chair would naturally tend to emphasize the studies of this department.[1] At the same time it carried with it, potentially, at least, the idea that the other departments of the college, as distinguished from this particular department now inaugurated, had become less exclusively theological. The object of the founding of the chair was not only the sustaining of the standard of ministerial education. It was also to extend and improve the opportunity for the training, and to make it greater than that then afforded by the English universities, so far as this particular department was concerned. This is the import of the "Orders" under which the chair was established, and of the comments accompanying the draught of them submitted by the committee of London Congregational ministers who drew them at the request of the founder, and which were adopted, with certain modifications, by the Harvard authorities. The province of the incumbent of the proposed chair is defined in these as being[2] "to instruct the students in the several parts of theology, by reading a system of positive, and a course of controversial divinity." The authors of the "Orders" remark in this connection as follows: "We apprehend this article to be of the last importance. The want of a Professor, whose *only* work shall be, to make students *Masters* of Divinity, is greatly complained of in our Universities,[3] and wisely rectified in the University of

[1] Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 538. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The oldest professorships at the English universities are the Lady Margaret Professorships of Divinity, founded at Cambridge and at Oxford by Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and mother of Henry VII. She instituted them on the advice of her confessor John Fisher, later bishop of Rochester (*Dictionary of National Biography*, iv, 48 f.). The next oldest are the Regius Professorships, founded in both universities by Henry VIII in 1540: these include chairs of Sacred Theology, Hebrew, and Greek. In 1721 the Regius Professor of Sacred Theology at Cambridge was the famous classicist Richard Bentley, master of Trinity College, and deeply involved in academic controversy; and the Lady Margaret Professor, Robert Jenkin, who had lost his mind (*op. cit.*, iv, 309, 311; xxix, 297). In the same year the

Edinburgh, and all foreign Universities[1] which we are acquainted with." In order to secure the whole time of the Professor for the work of this chair alone it is positively provided, "that the Professor of Divinity, while in that office, shall not be a Tutor in any other science, or obliged

Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford was John Potter, who occupied the chair from 1707 to 1737, holding with it from 1715–1737 the see of Oxford. In the latter year he was made Archbishop of Canterbury (*Historical Register of the University of Oxford* [Oxford, 1888], p. 46; *Dictionary of National Biography*, xlvi, 216 f.). The Margaret professorship of Divinity at Oxford was held in 1721 by William Delaune, the president of St. John's College. He was noted for his idleness and fondness for gambling (*Dictionary of National Biography*, xiv, 316). In view of the preoccupation of the holders of these professorships with administrative duties or with interests foreign to theology, it is not to be wondered at that the English friends of Harvard advised that the Hollis professor should give full time to his subject.

[1] Thomas Hollis wrote from London on the 8th of August, 1721: "I have consulted several worthy pastors of churches here, who have studied abroad, as at Edinburgh, Utrecht, Leyden, and are acquainted with the Professors of Divinity's work there" (Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i, 534). The first among them (p. 537) was Daniel Neal, the historian of the Puritans, who had studied at Utrecht for two years and at Leyden for one (*Dictionary of National Biography*, xl, 135). In 1721 Harvard gave Neal an M.A., the highest degree it was then able to confer (*ibid.*). Another of the signers was Joshua Oldfield, founder of Coventry Academy. Through the influence of Principal Carstares (see below), Edinburgh had bestowed an honorary D.D. on Oldfield in 1709. Beside this connection with Scotland, Oldfield was in touch with the learned tradition of the French Protestant academies; for instance, from 1708 on he had on the faculty of his own academy Jean Cappel, who had formerly held the chair of Hebrew at Saumur (*op. cit.*, xlii, p. 102; Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies*, p. 138).

At Edinburgh, as later at Harvard, the original plan was to have the principal teach the divinity students. The first two principals at Edinburgh had been professors of "Theology." In 1620 the burden of actual theological instruction had been transferred to a professor of "Divinity," though the principal retained the honorary title of professor of "Theology." In 1694 it was decided to create a second or Regius Professor of "Divinity and Church History," though this chair was not actually filled till 1702 (A. Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, ii, p. 280, 306).

In 1708, immediately after the Union of Scotland and England, Principal William Carstares, formerly an exile in Holland, a student at Utrecht, for a winter pastor in Leyden, later chaplain and intimate counsellor of William III, led the way in remodelling the University of Edinburgh after the pattern

to any other attendance in the College than the above mentioned public and private lectures."[1]

The subjects to be taught were, in the private lectures, positive and controversial divinity. As to the public lectures, it was advised that the subjects be "Church History, Jewish Antiquities, Cases of Conscience, or critical exposition of the Scriptures, as he shall judge proper."[2] This was modified by the Harvard Overseers so as to require one such lecture a week, "upon Divinity, either positive, or controversial, and as often upon Church History, Critical Exposition of the Scriptures, or Jewish Antiquities, as the Corporation, with the approbation of the Overseers, shall judge fit."[3] In agreeing to the "Orders" as recommended and accepted with modifications, the Overseers provided that the President should "continue his theological expositions and exercises and the Tutors their instructions in Divinity to their pupils as formerly."[4] By this the essential character of the college as an institution for theological training was asserted and maintained, and any organic or functional separation between the regular faculty and the new chair was, for the time being at least, avoided.

The comments accompanying the "Orders" throw a certain light on the general situation as to the ministerial training of the period. It was asserted that there was no professor in the English universities whose work was con-

of Utrecht and Leyden, then considered to be "the most famous universities abroad." The new system at Edinburgh substituted professors for regents; and a few years later there is "evidence that the teaching of the University of Edinburgh, in almost all its departments, had become distinctively Dutch" (Grant, as cited, i, pp. 259, 263; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix, pp. 187–190). The reform did not, however, sustain instruction on a high level of efficiency; it was still possible for prolix professors like the Rev. John Gowdie to spend seven years in covering the first half of a Genevan treatise in three volumes, Benedict Pictet's *Theologia Christiana* (Grant, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 334–336).

[1] *Rules and Orders*, etc., No. 6; Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 4, and Quincy, as cited, p. 535.

[3] Quincy, p. 539.

[4] *Ibid.* Also *ante*, p. 128, n. 3.

fined to "divinity," and that this was regarded as a defect by the London committee. It also appears that this lack did not exist at Edinburgh, nor in the continental institutions. The public lectures are alluded to in the committee's comments as follows.

> Give us leave, however, to observe to you that, notwithstanding the several Universities we have had knowledge of have laid the strictest injunctions on the Professors to study these lectures, yet in some time they have been generally neglected, and have dwindled into little else than form. We take the liberty to mention critical exposition of the Scriptures, Church History, and Jewish Antiquities, that the Professor may give to the students of Divinity as large and extensive a view as can be of every part of learning which is proper to the character of a finished divine.[1]

This advice, considered along with the action of the Harvard authorities which substituted a requirement of lectures on positive, controversial, or casuistical divinity for the subjects suggested, and which left the latter to the judgment of the Corporation and Overseers, seems to indicate that, in college circles, the chief interest in the field of divinity was the subject of theology, rather than the topics presented by the London pastors; or, a feeling on the part of the Harvard authorities that the curriculum was too extensive for the work of one man; or, that the public lecture was not the best occasion for the presentation of these particular subjects; or, more probably, the President and tutors may have been expected to instruct in these branches.

These comments also give us information as to the method then in use in teaching theology in the universities of Holland. And it is pertinent to this study especially because it reveals something of the way in which the Dutch

[1] *Rules and Orders*, No. 4; Quincy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 536.

ministry in America at this time was being trained. It is said in the remarks accompanying the recommendations:

> The Professors in the Universities of Holland read four times a week on a system, and four times a week on the controversies, each lecture not exceeding three quarters of an hour. The first quarter is spent in examining the students on the heads of the last lecture, then the Professor proceeds; always taking care to finish both his system, and course of controversial divinity, within the compass of a year.[1]

The method suggested for the Harvard chair was similar, being that of lectures, varied by opportunity for questions from the students. And it was ordered "that the Professor set apart two or three hours, one afternoon in the week" for this latter purpose.[2] Here is a significant suggestion, providing as it does for the play of the thought and inquiry of the students.

The length of a student's whole course of study for the ministry, if pursued at Harvard at this time, was fixed by the provision "that the Professor read his private lectures to such only as are of at least two years' standing in the College."[3] It is suggested in connection with the recommendation of this regulation that its adoption will "remedy an evil too common in most places," which was the tendency of students to enter upon the study of divinity when first entering the university, thereby neglecting the preparatory studies which were regarded as necessary.[4] This reveals the twofold fact, that the tendency was operative, in the older countries at least, to shorten the academic preparation for

[1] *Rules and Orders*, No. 2; Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 5; Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 7.

[4] " . . . whereas," continues the comment, "by keeping them from the constant and regular study of theology for the first two or three years, you employ them in other parts of literature, and effectually prevent their going into the pulpit till they are at least four years' standing."

the ministry, and the desire of the founders of this new chair to counteract it in New England.

It is worth while to notice the appearance, in the list of subjects, both for this chair and in the course at Yale, of casuistical divinity. If Dodwell was correct, then the American Congregationalists were progressive in their attitude toward this subject.[1]

It is provided that the Professor is to "read his private lectures of positive and controversial divinity so many times in the week as shall finish both courses within the term of one year,"[2] as was done in Holland. It is remarked that this method had the advantage of giving the Professor two days in the week to himself, and afforded opportunity for new students to enter every year, and for the Seniors to go over the course two or three times, which, it was thought, would be "of great advantage."[3]

The establishment of this chair was of manifold significance. It illustrated the practical unity of the Congregationalists of the time on the two sides of the ocean, and likewise the conception that in providing for the new department in the colonial institution there was involved nothing less than, or quite different from, what would be proper for a similar enterprise in England. It is, therefore, illustrative of the identity of the English and the American ideal as to the education of the ministry, at least among Nonconformists. It is important in the development of theological education in America, because it was the first attempt toward theological specialization in the country, and because it marks the beginning of the separation of the distinctively theological training from the other, more general, and strictly preparatory courses of the college. By the establishment of this chair, Harvard College in reality ceased to

[1] See R. M. Wenley, article "Casuistry," in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii (New York, 1911), p. 245.

[2] *Rules and Orders*, No. 3; Quincy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 535. [3] *Ibid.*

be any longer in essence a theological school.[1] For, despite precautions to the contrary, the chair presented the semblance of a department over against the rest of the school.

(*d*) *The Ideal: Cotton Mather's "Manductio ad Ministerium"*

In 1726 there was published by Cotton Mather a work entitled *Manductio ad Ministerium.*[2] It appears to be the first of the kind to be published from an American source. It is to be noted that it is by one of American birth and training. But its dedication to the students of Glasgow[3] shows clearly the intention of the author to furnish by it a guide to the students for the Nonconformist ministry throughout the English-speaking world, and that it was

[1] Professor Clifford H. Moore writes of the teaching of the classics at Harvard: "Although Latin was the common tongue of educated men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the authors read were apparently few. During the earlier period the ability to turn into Latin the Greek of the New Testament and into both Greek and Latin the Hebrew of the Old, was the chief aim of the classical instruction; indeed, the course was theological rather than literary. Cicero, Virgil and the Greek Testament are the only authors named in the documents available for the first century and a half of our collegiate history. And even down to 1830 the classical offering was meager indeed" (*Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, vol. xxv, No. 98, December, 1916, p 72).

[2] The edition used is that of John Ryland, London, 1781; *Dr. Cotton Mather's Student and Preacher.* Earlier edition, 1726, Evans's *Bibliography* No. 2772; see also *Cambridge History of American Literature*, i, 1917, p. 422, No. 444.

[3] Not in the edition used, but in that of "a Lover of the Gospel," London, 1789. It is,

> "Studioso Juventuti
> In Academiis,
> Imprimis Glascuensi,
> Deinde Novanglicanis,
> Nec non Nonconformistarum in Anglia
> Coactis intra privatas parietes;
> Cotton Mather
> Optat Timorem Domini,
> Atque inde Salutem in Domino."

not at all intended to meet merely the needs of the students of America. Its hearty reception in England not only testifies to the contemporary transatlantic judgment as to its merits, but also illustrates again the lack of any feeling of essential separation between the corresponding ecclesiastical and religious types of the two countries. Whatever distinction there may have been between English and colonial, there was none between British and American. It is fair, then, to take this work as representing the English Nonconformist ideal of the training for the ministry, as it was then held on both sides of the Atlantic. For the book is not presented as a proposal for reform, nor as an innovation, but as embodying that which was generally considered a proper course of study for the ministerial candidate, or the young pastor, and was already, in essential features at least, in actual practice.

After a somewhat lengthy statement of the qualifications as to character, disposition, and religious experience, which the author judges as prerequisite to the calling of the minister, he elaborates a course of study. This is to begin with the languages. He urges a knowledge of Latin that will enable the minister not only to write it, but also to speak it. In his judgment, however, "the Latin of an Erasmus, of a Calvin, or a Wetsius, is preferable unto Cicero." The student should become able to read Greek, especially that of the New Testament and Chrysostom. His remarks on the study of Hebrew are interesting as showing what had already taken place as to the study of that language. He says,

> But for the study of Hebrew, I am importunate with you. And the more so, because it is a remarkable instance of the depraved gust, into which we are of later years degenerated, that the knowledge of the Hebrew is fallen under so great disrepute, as to make a learned man almost afraid of owning that he

has any of it left, lest it should bring him under the suspicion of being an odd, starved, lank sort of a thing, who has lived only on Hebrew roots all his days.

He then adduces as illustrations of its value the testimony of Melanchthon and Luther, and his own experience. He advises Syriac, "as an appendix to your knowledge of Hebrew." He recognizes the value of familiarity with "living tongues" remarking that "there is no man who has the French tongue, but he ordinarily speaks the neater English for it." His attitude on the subject in general is summed up as follows: "And yet concerning the languages in general; the time allowed for them should certainly be proportioned to the use you were like to make of them." And again, "The languages you will consider but as instruments to come at the sciences wherewith you would propose to go skilfully about the work which your God shall call you unto."[1]

As to the sciences, he says, "If you would make short work of all the sciences and find out a northwest passage to them, I cannot think of any one author that would answer every intention so well as Alsted."[2] (He wonders, however, that this author is so little used.) As an introduction to the sciences he recommends Languis's *Medicina Mentis*.[3]

Of the study of rhetoric it is illuminating to find that he writes:

Instead of squandering your time on the study of rhetoric, whereof, no doubt, your Dugard gave you enough at school . . . my advice to you is, that you observe the flowers and airs of such writings as are most in reputation for their elegancy. Yet I am willing that you should attentively read over Smith

[1] Pages, 31–36. This and the subsequent references, unless otherwise specified, are to the *Student and Preacher*, as above.

[2] Page 36.

[3] Page 37.

his *Mystery of Rhetoric Unveiled*, that you may not be ignorant of what figures they pretend unto.

But he commends as the highest and best form of rhetoric that of the Scriptures.[1] In view of the somewhat prevalent notion as to the hair-splitting, scholastic tendencies of the ministers of that date in general, and of Mather himself in particular, it is interesting to note that he expresses himself in terms of the greatest scorn of what he calls "vulgar logic," as being utterly trivial.[2] He does, however, recommend the *Ars Cogitandi* and Oldfield's *Improvement of Reason*.[3] A further remark of his in this connection is worth noticing: " . . . though, for some reasons, I would be excused from recommending an essay on human understanding, which is much in vogue."[4] As to the next subject, he tersely remarks, "What I say of logic, I say of metaphysics," and states that Maccovius, or Jacchæus, was "as much as" he would "care for."[5]

In the study of ethics, the preference is to be given to distinctively Christian ethics. But he adds: "It is not amiss for you to know what this paganism is; and therefore you may, if you please, bestow a short reading upon a Golius or a More ; but be more of a Christian than to look on the *Enchiridion* of the author last mentioned, as next to the bible, the best book in the world."[6] Ethics *De docoro* he heartily commends. And adds,—"but even so, observation of the conduct of other people is better." And then, "Every Christian, as far as he keeps his own rules will be so far a gentleman." The study of poetry in Horace, Virgil, and Homer, with a little practice in the art itself, "under the guidance of a Vida," is advised.[7]

It is evident that at least Mather himself was not insensible to the rising tide of interest in physical science

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Page 38. [3] Page 39. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* [6] Page 40. [7] Page 41.

which characterized the time, for he writes as follows: "What we call Natural Philosophy is what I must encourage you to spend much time in the study of." But he cautions the reader that when he "said natural Philosophy" he did not mean the Peripatetic. He then condemns Aristotle, in so many words, as a "muddy-headed pagan." Among the text-books on this subject which he suggests, he mentions as one that should be mastered, Gale's *Philosophia generalis*. He is then very emphatic in saying that "as thorough an insight as you can get into the principles of our perpetual dictator, the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton" is what he "mightily" commends. And again, "Be sure the experimental philosophy is that, in which alone your mind can be at all established." He advises reading the "communications" of Boyle, Hook, Grew, Cheyne, and Keill, also "those that have written the natural history of several places." He strongly recommends his own *Christian Philosopher*.[1]

He is very enthusiastic in urging the study of Mathematics, "as next to philosophy a noble study"[2] for the candidate. Astronomy and geography, especially that of Palestine, are recommended as proper objects of special study.[3] As to music, he says that he does not know what to advise: "Do as you please." But he acknowledges the advantage to a minister of proficiency in singing.[4] An acquaintance with history is described as "one of the most needful and useful accomplishments, for a man that would serve God" as a minister. As introductory works to this study, he recommends Hornius's *Arca Noæ*, which he calls admirable and Sleidan's little book, *De Quattuor summis imperiis*, as "far from despicable,"[5] but than which he "cannot think of a better," *i. e.*, "Matthias Prideaux, his easy and compendious introduction for the reading of all sorts of his-

[1] *Ibid.*, pages 50–56. [2] Page 56. [3] Pages 57–59.
[4] Page 61. [5] Pages 62–63.

tories."[1] After these he mentions certain larger works, and makes a list of what are in his judgment the best authors for the history of the different countries.[2] These cover practically all the known world. They are presented, however, with the qualification, "if you can find leisure." He then continues:

> I must now propose church history with a yet more earnest wish to have you acquainted with it. . . . a divine has a blemish almost as disqualifying upon him as any of the hundred and forty which the Jews reckon to bring a priest of theirs under incapacities if church-history has not instructed him for the business of the sanctuary.[3]

A considerable list of books on this subject is given, covering not only the general subject, but also the history of the church in the various countries.[4] The whole is to be supplemented by the reading of biography, "especially of them who have done worthily in Israel." Books on the chronology of the Bible, and Roman and Greek antiquities then follow.[5]

The commentaries listed are Henry, Pool, Hutchinson, Caryl, Greenhill, Burroughs, Owen, Manton, and Jenkins.[6]

The text-books on theology are Wollebius's *Manductio ad Theologiam*, Ames's *Medulla Theologiæ*, Markius's *Compendium*, the Leyden Divines' *Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ*, Usher's *Body of Divinity*, and the writings of H. Atting, Tuckney, Prideaux, Hermigius, Edwards, Calvin, Pearson, Witsius, and Mastricht.[7] It is suggested that certain specifically controversial works should also be studied, especially those having to do with the claims of the Romanists, Arians, Arminians, the Anti-Pædobaptists, and the Quakers. Then follows a short list of authors on ecclesiastical

[1] *Ibid.*, page 63. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Page 69. [4] *Ibid., sq.*
[5] Page 93. [6] Page 94. [7] *Ibid.*

polity. Then the advice, "But it is of the last importance that you should be a good Casuist," with the recommendation of the following books on the subjects included in this field of study: Ames's *Casus Conscientiæ*, Alsted's *Theologia Casuum*, Baxter's *Directory*, and Baldwin's *De Casibus Conscientiæ*.

The Fathers are recommended, especially Chrysostom, Augustine, and Theodoret; and certain works on the Fathers.

Pastoral Theology, with Bowles's *Pastor Evangelicus* and Edwards's *Preacher* as the books specially suggested, closes the list of subjects.

Again we have to note the inclusion of "casuistical divinity" as an important part of the special equipment of the pastor. As compared with the lists of Dodwell and Bray, Mather's is distinctive in the place given to the Fathers. In the former they are prominent and the study of them is emphasized as a means of actual instruction in doctrine, while Mather is inclined to give them a rather subordinate position throughout, and to consider them rather as sources of historical information. In the former many of them are listed, while Mather names only a few of them.

It is to be observed that the above course of study, while attempting a certain completeness, was not presented by the author as new, or as unreasonable. He offers no apology for it. It does, indeed, present an ideal. But at the very least it is the ideal of a man who was no mere bookworm. Though one of the most learned men of his time, especially in the sphere of his calling, yet he was intensely interested, and even exceedingly active, in the practical life, not only of the Church, but of the whole community as well, including its civic phases. He desired not merely a learned ministry, but an efficient one. As to this we have his own declaration. He writes: "If you aim no higher nor better, than to render yourself considerable, and make a figure among your fellow-mortals, or perhaps, to gain a comfortable subsistence in the

world, all you do is wrong and mean, and vile, and the holy God looks down with abhorrence upon you."[1] He approves the thought that those are "the only right students, *qui ad hoc volunt intellegere ut beneficiant.*"[2] There are other remarks of his to the same effect.[3] In fact he merely held the theory that was the basis of the insistence on a trained ministry as it was then held by most of those who presented and practiced it, or strove to have it practiced; which was that, while learning did not in itself constitute, or confer, efficiency in the ministry, it was almost, if not quite, essential to efficiency. It is obvious that in order to carry out the scheme of study here suggested a library was necessary. Very probably there was in the writer's mind all the while the thought of the student being at his college, or university, either as an undergraduate,[4] or as tarrying after the completion of the collegiate curriculum.

Like all ideals, this one doubtless fell very short of universal realization. But it testifies, as do the lists of Dodwell and Bray, and their accompanying statements, to the fact that the course of study then held by the leaders in the Protestant Churches of English speech, whether established or Nonconformist, in the mother country or in the colonies, to be necessary to the proper preparation for the work of the ministry, was not narrow, relatively either to the purpose and scope of the ministry as they conceived these, or to the educational facilities and educational ideals of the age. Nor was this ideal lower among the Dutch either in their native country or in America. On the contrary, it is safe to say that, if there was any difference, theirs was the higher standard. And in its actual application it is altogether probable that their strict ecclesiastical

[1] *Ibid.*, page 26. [2] *Ibid.* [3] See the whole of section vi.

[4] " . . . I do now particularly warn you against the senseless folly of an entanglement in any foolish amour, while you are yet a student in college" (p. 29).

regulations, requiring, as these did, the training as a necessary condition precedent to ordination, secured a nearer attainment, in general, to the ideal than was realized, or possible, in the other communions whose practice is a part of the field of this study. The Dutch ministry in America, being merely a part of the Church of Holland, was held to the same attainment by the same law that operated in the latter.

(*e*) *The Actual Preparation*

When we come to compare the actual preparation of candidates for the ministry with the professed ideal, it would seem that the Anglican clergy serving in America at this time were almost, if not quite, entirely of English training, and that, judging from the statements of scholars who have given the subject some special attention, and from the information given by Bray, this training was by no means always of the highest sort.

The opposite appears to have been the case with the Dutch in the country, as has been intimated above. The Presbyterians were just now beginning to be a considerable factor in the ecclesiastical and religious life of the colonies, and, as has already been stated, they were so far maintaining, for the most part at least, the standard of ministerial education characteristic of that Church, their ministers being at this particular time chiefly as yet of British, and probably Scottish, training.[1]

[1] That there was room for exception in the practice in both these Churches, as well as in the Episcopal, is shown by the following (*Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, i, p. 120): "That the maintenance of the laws of the national Synod, regarding this article [sc. Art. 3 'regarding those persons who have not studied'], in so far as it is in any way possible, shall be observed; and shall not be overstepped, except in some great necessity. And that therefore those Classes or Churches, where there are Chambers of the West or East India Co., shall proceed with discretion therein." This is an answer to an inquiry of the Classis of Enkhuysen, 1638. Compare *Records of the Presby-*

The American Congregationalists, according to the evidence of the lists of them that have been preserved, appear to have had, almost without exception, a regular college course, usually at either Harvard or Yale. The actual influence of this training is illustrated by the careers of such men as Israel Loring, Nathaniel Chauncy, Peter Thacher, Jared Eliot, Edward Wigglesworth, Benjamin Lord, Nathaniel Appleton, Thomas Prince, Solomon Williams, Joshua Smith, Thomas Clap, Jonathan Edwards, Ebenezer Pemberton, John Lowell, Samuel Mather, Noah Hobart, Mather Byles, Jonathan Todd, Eleazer Wheelock, Joseph Bellamy, and others. On the whole, there is no evidence that has so far appeared, at least in this investigation, to warrant the conclusion that the requirements of an academic sort as preparation for the ministry had as yet been lowered either in theory or in practice by the American Congregationalists, although it was now the time of the "Puritan Decline."

2. From the Great Awakening to the Revolution

(*a*) *The Awakening as it Affected Ministerial Education*

The revival movement of this period was not without its effect on the education of the ministry of the Protestant Churches of America, especially the Congregational and the Presbyterian. For instance, it was only after engaging in the work of the revival that Joseph Bellamy began

terian Church in the United States of America, p. 144: "It being the first article of our excellent Directory for the examination of candidates of the sacred ministry, that they be inquired of, what degrees they have taken in the university, etc. And it being oftentimes impracticable for us in these remote parts of the earth, to obtain an answer to these questions, of those who propose themselves to examination, many of our candidates not having enjoyed the advantage of a university education, and it being our desire to come to the nearest conformity to the incomparable prescriptions of the Directory, that our circumstances will admit of," *etc.* (Overture adopted by the Synod of 1739).

his regular instruction of students for the ministry.[1] The Tennents, who were so active in it, were also previously, indeed, as well as afterwards, among the pioneers in certain forms of education with a direct view to the preparation of ministers,[2] and their theories of the general character of the work of the ministry, which were directly related to their attitude to the revival, seem to have influenced them all along in their educational work.[3] And Jonathan Edwards, one of the leaders, if not the pioneer, of the movement, was himself an instructor of students for the ministry.[4] In the controversy among the Presbyterians, which was a direct outgrowth of the revival,[5] the proper preparation of candidates was a factor.[6] In short, it seems that the men interested in the movement as its promoters or friends believed, largely because of their experiences and observation in connection with it, that there was need of the raising up, and the perpetuation, of a type of ministry different from that which had hitherto prevailed in America. They apparently had their doubts concerning the efficacy of the scholastic training then in vogue to produce the ministry that they deemed demanded by the times. Whitefield's strictures upon college life and influence, especially at Yale, will be recalled in this connection.[7]

[1] Sprague's *Annals*, vol. i, p. 405. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 24–25.

[3] The attitude of Gilbert Tennent and Blair toward the ministers who did not approve of the revival is well known, *ibid.*, p. 37; *American Church History Series*, vol. vi, p. 32. It seems that Gilbert Tennent went so far as to charge publicly that certain official acts of the Synod of Philadelphia were designed "to prevent his father's school from training gracious men for the ministry,' (Hodge, C., *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A*, pt. i, p. 43, note).

[4] Among his pupils were Samuel Hopkins (Sprague, *Annals*, vol. i, p. 429), and Jonathan Parsons (*ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 47).

[5] *American Church History Series*, vol. vi, pp. 32, 33.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] On the 9th of September, 1741, the Trustees of Yale College voted "that if any Student of this College shall directly or indirectly say, that the Rector,

Besides these facts, the revival, as seems frequently the case with such movements, revealed a pressing demand for an immediate increase in the supply of ministers. This was felt not only by the ecclesiastical authorities of the denominations most affected, and by their unconventional or "schismatic" rivals,[1] but also by the candidates for the ministry themselves. For instance, it is recorded of the Reverend Samuel Buell that

in consequence of the peculiar state of things which existed at the time of his leaving college, involving a pressing demand for

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either of the Trustees or Tutors are Hypocrites, carnall or unconverted men, he Shall for the first Offence make a publick Confession in the Hall, for the Second Offence be expell'd" (*Documentary History of Yale University*, ed. F. B. Dexter, p. 351). This aims at curbing students infected by the censoriousness of the New Lights. Under the reactionary administration of Governor Law (*cf. ibid.*, pp. 356–358) an act was passed in October, 1742, to crush an institution at New London, conducted by Rev. Timothy Allen, and entitled "The Shepherd's Tent." It was meant to be an academy to educate exhorters, teachers, and ministers. The law, which was to be valid for four years and no longer, included the provision, "That no person that has not been educated or graduated in Yale College, or Harvard College in Cambridge, or some other allowed foreign protestant college or university, shall take the benefit of the laws of this government respecting the settlement and support of ministers" (*Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, vol. viii, 1735–1743, Hartford, 1874, p. 502; *cf.* M. Louise Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*, Boston, 1905, p. 255 f.).

The President and Fellows of Yale voted in 1746 to establish a professorship of divinity as soon as it should be possible financially. The need was evidently twofold: to forestall criticism by increasing the facilities for preparation for the ministry, and to secure a college preacher who would interest the undergraduate better than did Rev. Joseph Noyes, pastor of the church in New Haven, who is described as being "far from a popular preacher" (*cf.* Sprague, *Annals*, i, p. 345 ff.). The first professor of divinity, Naphtali Daggett, elected in 1755, gave more of his time for twenty-five years to his work as minister of the college church than to week-day instruction in theology (Stiles, *Diary*, ii, p. 482, *cf.* Sprague, *Annals*, i, p. 483 f.).

[1] The revival led to the formation of new churches of the old type, also to the organization of Strict or Separate Congregational Churches, and of Baptist Churches (see Blake, S. Leroy, *The Separates or Strict Congregationalists of New England*, chap. vi).

ministerial labor, he determined to apply immediately [*i. e.* after graduation at Yale] for license to preach. This peculiar state of things was nothing less than the extensive revival which prevailed at that time [1747] in various parts of the country, in which Whitefield had so prominent an agency.[1]

The whole effect may be summed up, with at least approximate accuracy and completeness, as consisting in the encouragement of men to seek their preparation for the immediate work of the ministry elsewhere than at the colleges, and to shorten that preparation. It is from this period that are to be dated both the rise of the practice, as a general custom, of the private teaching of theology, and that of taking only a short course in certain studies as sufficient immediate preparation for the active work of the pastorate. The Dutch, alone among the churches much affected by the revival, seem to have escaped this effect, being preserved from it by their peculiar system.

(*b*) *The Presbyterians*

It will be remembered that the ecclesiastical history of this period in America is marked by the increase and extension of the Presbyterian Church. Some of its more prominent ministers were from the Congregationalists, as for instance, Jedidiah Andrews, of Harvard (1695), Jonathan Dickinson (Yale, 1706), Jonathan Parsons (Yale, 1729), Aaron Burr (Yale, 1735), and David Brainerd (for a time at Yale). But the chief supply of this ministry in the early part of this period was, as has already been noted, from abroad. George McNish, who came in 1705, George Gillespie, in 1712, Robert Cross, in 1717, William Tennent, in 1718, James McGregorie in the same year, and Francis Allison, in 1736, were educated in either Scotland or Ireland.

[1] Sprague, vol. iii, pp. 102–103; *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, pp. 139, 144.

It is the opinion of Dr. Thompson that most of the earlier Presbyterian ministers from abroad had been educated at Glasgow.[1] The fact of their special training, which was collegiate and theological, seems to be generally admitted. The Church in America, however, very soon began to produce and train a native ministry. The native training preceded the truly native material. Gilbert Tennent, John Tennent, Wm. Tennent, Jr., Samuel Blair, Samuel Finley, John Blair, Charles Beatty, John Roan, and Robert Smith, though born abroad, were among those who received their education for the ministry, in whole or in part, in America. In this way the Presbyterian Church injected into the ecclesiastical and religious life of the country at this particular time the force of the second native American ministry of special and native training. It is safe to say that this would have been done earlier had this Church been established earlier.

(*c*) *The College of New Jersey*

The founding of the College of New Jersey, whose beginnings are traced to a date prior to 1747, is a part of the history of ministerial training in America. As the first effort of a larger sort on the part of the Presbyterians, it is significant. One of its chief purposes was to supply opportunity for preparation for the ministry.[2] It is significant also because of its connection with the revival. As is well known, its patrons among the Presbyterians were the progressives of that Church, *i. e.*, those who favored the

[1] *American Church History Series*, vol. vi, p. 25. See also Beecher, *Index of Presbyterian Ministers . . . from A.D. 1706 to A.D. 1881*, [c. 1883].

[2] That its purpose was broader than this is clear from the Charter, which defines the general object to be "the education of youth in the learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences" (Collins, V. L., *Princeton*, p. 400). But see Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 306, and Alexander, A., as cited, p. 81. The early portions of Collins's work are to be read with caution.

revival. Although the large effect of that movement as related to the education of the ministry was to send candidates to pastors rather than to colleges, yet because of special circumstances in this instance it tended to the establishment of a college with a view to the proper preparation for candidates for the ministry.

From a letter, written in 1750, by a member of the freshman class, we get some idea of the daily programme of studies: "But I must give you an account of my studies at the present time. At seven in the morning we recite to the President, lessons in the works of Xenophon in Greek, and in Watt's *Ontology*. The rest of the morning, until dinner time, we study Cicero's *De Oratore* and the Hebrew grammar, and recite our lessons to Mr. Sherman, the college tutor. The remaining part of the day we spend in the study of Xenophon and Ontology to recite the next morning. And, besides these things, we dispute once every week after the syllogistic method;—and now and then geography."[1]

(*d*) *The Chair of Divinity at Yale*

In 1756 the facilities for distinctively theological training in America were increased by the establishment at Yale of a chair of divinity.

In March of that year Naphtali Daggett was examined by the President and Fellows of the college as to his "Principles of Religion, and his Knowledge and Skill in Divinity, Cases of Conscience, Scripture History, and Chronology, Antiquity, Skill in the Hebrew tongue, and various other qualifications for a Professor."[2] He was approved, and entered thereafter upon his work as Professor of Divinity. It will be noted that, judging from the subjects of his examination, there was not contemplated at this time any special modification of the course in divinity then in vogue.

[1] Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 247.
[2] Clap, T., *History of Yale*, p. 67.

The establishment of this chair, by virtue of its very nature as separate in its function from the college curriculum in general, introduced at Yale the idea, however little it may have been at first discerned, that the college was no longer simply a school of training for the ministry, certain features of which, since the training was designed to cover the whole field of the current collegiate culture, were good for anyone who would have a higher education. Divinity was now visibly presented, as it was at Harvard, as but one of the subjects taught, although doubtless the most important one, in the college.

Naphtali Daggett, the first incumbent, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1756. From 1766 to 1777 he was acting president of Yale College. From 1756 to his death in 1780 he held the professorship of divinity, but he seldom lectured on week days, communicating in sermons preached on Sundays in the College Chapel his erudition, which Ezra Stiles recognized as genuine, but not "extensive." After Professor Daggett's death President Stiles complained that in the emergency he was called on to perform the duties of three professorships and the presidency at the same time.[1] Thus far did the ideal of having the professor of divinity give his whole time to his subject, or rather complex of subjects, fall short of fulfilment. Dr. Stiles was normally President and Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

(*e*) *The Private Teaching of Theology*

As already intimated, there grew up in the later portion of the period just considered a practice in the training of the ministry of the Protestant churches in America which finally became a general feature of that training. It was the practice of the teaching of theology by pastors, who undertook this work on their own initiative and responsi-

[1] Stiles, *Diary*, ii, pp. 482–485.

bility, and in an entirely private capacity. This was, of course, distinct and different from the work done throughout the early history of the country by ministers who prepared students for college, or conducted regular schools and academies for the purposes of ordinary education.

This practice did not, however, originate in this century nor in America. For instance, John Cotton, as was shown above, had a considerable reputation as a theological teacher.[1] Samuel Stone, who came to America in 1633, had after his graduation at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, put himself under the instruction of Rev. Richard Blackerby in England, who was "much celebrated for his attainments both in literature and piety."[2] Thomas Shepard, who arrived in America in 1635, had lived with Rev. Thomas Welde at Tarling, England, from whom he received aid in his theological studies.[3] Thomas Cobbett, arriving in 1637, had studied under the famous Dr. Twiss.[4] It is probable that James Noyes also, coming in 1634, had been assisted in his theological studies by his cousin, Rev. Thomas Parker,[5] who aided him in other parts of his education. The beginning of the practice in America seems to date from the case of John Higginson, who came as a child from England, and received all his education in America, completing his studies under Rev. Thomas Hooker, in 1641.[6] Another, and perhaps contemporary, instance is that of James Fitch, who had come to New England in 1638, without, it seems, any special previous academic training, and who studied for seven years under Rev. Thomas Hooker and Rev. Samuel Stone, being ordained in 1646.[7] Thomas

[1] " . . . he acquired no small celebrity as a theological teacher; and while most of his pupils were from the university where he himself had been trained, there were a considerable number from Holland, and some from Germany" (Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 26).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 180, n.

Thatcher, coming from England in 1643, had refused to attend the universities in his native country because of his religious scruples, and was prepared for the ministry in this country, under the instruction of Rev. Charles Chauncy, then of Scituate, Mass.[1] Roger Newton, who was ordained in 1645, had studied theology under Thomas Hooker.[2] John Gerrish, ordained in 1675, had studied with Dr. Parker of Newbury, Mass.,[3] and Samuel Whiting, ordained in 1693, under James Fitch, mentioned above as the pupil of Hooker and Stone. William Johnson, ordained in 1732, had studied with Rev. Thomas Lowell, of Newbury.[4] It was shortly after this date that the practice of private instruction as a preparation for the ministry seems to have become regularly established. After the middle of the century it appears to have become the rule. Instead of returning to college for post-graduate study in the subject of divinity, the candidate for the ministry placed himself under the direction of some pastor, who guided his reading, and instructed him, more or less, until he appeared for licensure, or ordination.

The custom seems to have been confined at first to the Congregationalists. It is among them that the first recorded instances that I have been able to find occur. This may be explained, in part at least, by the dependence of the Dutch Reformed and Episcopal Churches in the country on their respective parent organizations for the supply of their ministry. But after the Dutch Church began to move, as it did in the latter part of the century, towards a more autonomous existence, we see the practice regularly established in it also, and recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities of that body.

Probably no other fact could be of greater significance

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 127. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[3] *The American Quarterly Register*, Feb., 1835, vol. vii, p. 231.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 259.

in showing the practical utility, if not the necessity, of this method of training in the case of the American churches of this period. But in the final recognition and adoption of it, the Dutch Church by no means intended to lower the standard of requirement, nor did it do so. For we find that from 1745 (about the time of the extension of the practice in New England) to 1769, six candidates who had studied under American pastors of the Dutch Church were examined, passed, and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam.[1]

The Presbyterian Church does not appear as a factor in the ecclesiastical life of America at a date sufficiently early for it to have been related to the beginnings of this practice. But soon after its entrance as such we find it making use of it. The growth of this Church being rapid, and its whole life greatly affected by the revival movement, the location of its congregations and most promising fields being rather remote from the centers of higher education then in the country, and the custom being already established by other communions of similar creed and organization, while the Presbyteries were empowered to judge, as well as enforce, the educational requirement, it is not strange that this Church was soon practicing this method on a somewhat large scale, and many of its ministers were engaged in the work of preparing young men for the ministry.

Some of the pastors thus engaged did a distinctive work in the sphere of education. They conducted regular academies which undertook to give, as will be shown below, a training sufficient to meet all examinations of presbytery, the courses extending from the beginning of work preparatory to college through the completion of a course in specifically theological instruction. And it seems that it became the almost uniform practice for candidates for the Presby-

[1] The names are given in the *Centennial Volume of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America*, App., p. 297.

terian ministry, who had not been to these schools, to take their theological training under some pastor.

Some idea of the number of American ministers at this time who were more or less engaged in the instruction of candidates for the ministry in their more immediate preparation for it, may be derived from the fact that a somewhat rough count reveals the names of at least one hundred and fifty[1] of them among the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, and the Presbyterians, all doing this work in a capacity entirely private.

Some of these had but very few pupils; some, indeed, perhaps only one. For there is reason to believe that the great majority of them did not seek the work, but did it merely to meet a need generally recognized at that time as very real, and only as occasions arose which seemed to demand their services.

The practice continued until some time after the theological seminaries had become well established, and even after their general recognition as the places for the special training of the ministry. Especially was this true in regions remote from the seminaries.

As has been intimated, there were ministers who made this work a regular part of their function as ministers, though in an entirely unofficial way. One of the first, if not the very first, to do so was Joseph Bellamy,[2] of Bethlehem, Conn. He began about 1742. Many pupils were instructed by him during his long ministry, which continued until 1790. All the while he diligently performed the duties of the pastorate. Others who labored in similar fashion, on a scale more or less extensive, were Stephen West[3] (1743–1819), at Stockbridge, Mass.; John Smalley

[1] Lists of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in the Western Reserve, *American Quarterly Register*, Feb., 1836, vol. viii, p. 219.

[2] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 405. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 549.

(1757–1820), at Berlin, Conn.[1]; Levi Hart (1761–1808), at Preston (Griswold), Conn.[2]; Joseph Dana (1763–1827), at Ipswich, Mass.[3]; Nathaniel Emmons (1769–1840), at Franklin, Mass.[4]; Asa Burton (1777–1836), at Thetford, Vt.[5]; Chas. Backus (1773–1839), at Somers, Conn.[6]; Asahel Hooker (1790–1813), at Stonington, Conn.[7] These were Congregationalists.

Among the Dutch Reformed, whose ministry during this whole period, it will be recalled, was both relatively and absolutely small, there were engaged in this work T. J. Freylinghuysen (1720–47), C. Van Santvoord (1718–42), C. H. Dorsius (1737–43), J. H. Goetschius (1738–74), J. Leydt (1748–85), B. Vanderlinde (1748–89), J. Ritzema (1744–88), H. Meyer (1763–91), D. Romeyn (1766–94), Wm. Westerlo (1760–90), S. Verbryck (1749–84), J. Hardenburgh (1758–90); all in the settlements of the Dutch in New York and New Jersey.[8]

As was the case with the Presbyterians, the candidates prepared by these men appeared before the designated body of the Church for examination not only as to their character,

[1] See the references to various pupils, *e.g.*, Nathaniel Emmons, in Sprague's *Annals*, vol. i, p. 693; Ebenezer Porter, *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 351.

[2] "Few ministers in New England, previous to the establishment of Theological seminaries, had so much to do as he, in training young men for the ministry" (Rev. Samuel Nott, D.D., Franklin, Conn.; *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 594).

[3] "Previous to the establishment of our Theological Seminaries, he had not unfrequently students of Divinity under his care. . . ." (Rev. Samuel Dana, his son; *ibid.*, p. 600).

[4] "He guided the studies of eighty-seven young men preparing to become ministers of the gospel" (Prof. E. A. Park; *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 702).

[5] *American Quarterly Register*, May, 1838, vol. x, p. 321.

[6] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 62: "he was accustomed, during the greater part of his active life, to receive young men into his family for the purpose of assisting them in the i; preparation for the ministry. Nearly fifty in this manner enjoyed his instructions."

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[8] *Centennial Volume of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church*, etc., App., p. 297.

orthodoxy, and general fitness for the ministry, but also as to their specific attainments in their studies, the nature and scope of which were definitely prescribed by the Church itself. Among the Congregationalists it apppears that the examinations for licensure were chiefly, if not wholly, confined to the *former* of these subjects, the last named being rather assumed and left to the schools than made a subject of actual ecclesiastical prescription and control.

Among the Presbyterians were Wm. Tennent (1718–46), at Neshaminy, Pa.[1]; Samuel Blair (1733–51), at Fagg's Manor, Pa.[2]; John Blair (1742–71), at Fagg's Manor, Pa.[3]; Robert Smith (1749–93), at Pequea, Pa.[4]; John Woodhull (1768–1824), at Freehold, N. J.[5]; John McMillan, (1774–1833), at Chartiers, Pa.[6]; Wm. Graham (1775–99), at Timber Ridge, Va.[7]; Samuel Doak (1777–1830), at Bethel, Tenn.[8]; Nathan Grier, (1786–1814), at Forks of Brandywine, Pa.[9]; David Porter (1756–1851), at Spencertown, N. Y.[10]; David Caldwell (1763–1824), at Buffalo and Alamance, N. C.[11] Besides those named in the above lists there may have been others whose work was extensive enough to warrant special mention. But those given seem to be the best known.[12]

Tennent and his sons, the Blairs, Smith, Woodhull,

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 24. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 117. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 173. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 305.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 352. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 366. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 394.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 465. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 264. To these should probably be added Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr. *Cf.*, *A History of Higher Education in America* by Charles F. Thwing, p. 110.

[12] In addition to these and their work should be considered the Lutherans, whose use of this method has been fully illustrated and studied by Rev. Frederick G. Gotwald, D.D., in *Early American Lutheran Theological Education, 1745–1845*. Here appear the names of Patriarch Muhlenberg, John Christopher Kunze, J. F. Schmidt, J. H. C. Helmuth, Provost Wrangel, Christian Streit, H. E. Muhlenberg, Jacob Goering, while the method was continued by many Lutheran ministers beyond the limit of the period of this study.

Graham, Doak, McMillan, and Caldwell conducted academies of the kind alluded to above.[1] Their work differed even from such regular and systematic efforts as those of Dr. Bellamy, Dr. Emmons, and Dr. Burton, in that they did not confine themselves to the immediate preparation of men for the ministry, nor even to the instruction of candidates for that office, though the furnishing of trained ministers was the chief object of practically all of them. But in the schools of McMillan, Graham, Doak, and, especially, Caldwell, it was attempted to meet the need for a general education. Their theological instruction was presented as the crowning feature of their curriculum. And their work in this particular branch was not confined to the instruction of students who had received their previous academic training from them, but they also taught the theological course to others who had taken the more strictly academic training elsewhere. Thus their schools differed again from those academies taught by ministers, of which there seem to have been many in all parts of the country at this time, which offered no instruction in specifically theological subjects. And they differed entirely from the work of those who taught only a pupil or two, now and then, perhaps in both academic and theological subjects, because there happened to be no opportunity for such instruction elsewhere convenient. The position of these schools is really midway between the private instructor and the regular college. Private colleges, with departments of divinity, might not be an inappropriate description of them. Some of them

[1] For an interesting parallel, compare the dissenting academies of England: "The academies of the period 1663–1690 were 'private' with usually about twenty or thirty students and only one tutor. Dissenters and Anglicans were trained together for the learned professions—the Church, Law, and Medicine. The first period academies resembled the grammar schools, but showed a tendency to work on university lines. The tutors, university men, naturally employed all the methods already familiar to them" (Parker, Irene, *Dissenting Academies in England*, 1662–c. 1800, pp. 57, 58).

actually constituted the easily recognizable beginnings of institutions that are now colleges; and it may be possible to trace the origin of some of the theological seminaries of to-day to certain of them. At any rate they have all passed out of existence; some of them after years of service under different masters. Their passing seems to have been, in many instances at least, determined by the establishment of regular colleges, or seminaries, in the territory whose special educational and religious needs they were originally designed to meet. Their influence upon American education as a whole was by no means slight or insignificant. They do not appear to have received as yet the special and thorough study in the history of education in America that the actual contribution made by them would seem to justify, if not to demand.[1] One of them, "the Log College," which will be recognized as Tennent's school, has indeed received some attention of this sort. But it was only one of these schools which seem as a whole to be entitled to a special classification.

Their effect on the training of the ministry was as marked as it was evident. They maintained the standard of an educated ministry, and furnished at least an approximate attainment to it, at a time, when, and in regions where, that standard was threatened by the very circumstances and conditions in which many of the churches were of necessity existing. At the same time their work was directed toward meeting the needs which were produced, and made clearly manifest, by these circumstances and conditions. The men who conducted them were enthusiastic students, and in certain cases, if not always, accomplished scholars, at least according to the standards of their time; and they were energetic ministers, anxious for a ready, active, equipped, and efficient ministry. Judging by the positions attained,

[1] Their work is noticed by Dexter, *History of Education in the U. S.*, p. 64, especially that of the Log College, p. 245; and by Thwing, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

and the work done, not only in the ministry, but in other vocations as well, by many of those who obtained their training in these schools, we have to conclude that the training afforded by them must have been, in a large measure, a very good substitute for that given by the colleges of the time, with whose graduates the pupils of these schools easily sustain a critical comparison.

As to the general practice of the private study of theology under pastors, it appears that sometimes candidates merely accepted the services of some minister nearby, often their own pastor, who would direct their reading. But in other cases, especially when they studied with ministers who were regularly engaged in the preparation of students for the ministry, they went to live during the term of instruction with their teachers. The time spent under the tutelage of these pastors, whether they were regularly engaged in the work or took only an occasional pupil, seems to have varied greatly, often being but a few months, or even weeks, while frequently it was considerably longer. Sometimes students studied under more than one pastor, going from one to another in succession.[1] There were instances of men pursuing a course of theological study, and at the same time engaged in teaching. This was done not only by tutors in colleges, but also by the students of the private theological instructors.

As to the methods of these private teachers, even those engaged in the work in the most regular way seem to have left but little record, either by their own act, or through their pupils. And the same is true of the courses of study used by them, and the reading of their pupils. But a few fragmentary statements in regard to some of these teachers—the testimony in some cases being that of former pupils—

[1] *E.g.*, James Fitch studied under Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone; Thomas Robbins, under Ephraim Judson his pastor, Dr. West of Stockbridge, and Dr. Mills of Torringford. Many other examples could be given.

may, perhaps, give a fairly accurate idea of the general features of their instruction.

The methods pursued by Dr. Joseph Bellamy were as follows:

It was his custom to furnish his pupils with a set of questions covering the whole field of Theology, and then to give them a list of books, corresponding to the several subjects which they were to investigate; and in the progress of their inquiries he was accustomed almost daily to examine them, to meet whatever difficulties they might have found, and to put himself in the attitude of an objector, with a view at once to extend their knowledge, and increase their intellectual acumen. When they had gone through the prescribed course of reading, he required them to write dissertations on the several subjects which had occupied their attention; and, afterwards, sermons on the points of doctrinewhich he deemed most important, and finally sermons on such experimental and practical topics as they might choose to select. He was particularly earnest in inculcating the importance of a high tone of spiritual feeling as an element of ministerial character and success.[1]

It is also written of him that "he was a capital teacher."[2]

Of the work of Dr. Stephen West we have the following testimony:

His method of teaching in previous years, I do not know. But to me he gave subjects in a short regular system . . . as on the being and attributes of God, the authenticity of the Scriptures, etc. . . . and books to read on the several subjects, and required a dissertation on each, which I read to him. He heard the dissertations, and made such remarks as were called for, pointed out the relations of the new doctrines, explained passages of Scripture, etc. The books to be read were few. Among them were Hopkins's *System of Divinity*, and a few other important works,

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 405, 406.
[2] Letter of Rev. Payson Williston, *ibid.*, p. 412.

such as might be expected in the library of a country minister nearly fifty years ago. I found the Doctor read Latin with great facility. He was also well versed in the Natural Philosophy which was commonly taught in the Colleges of our Country near a century since.[1]

Another writer adds the following: "I will here relate a conversation which Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard, had with me in connection with Dr. West's Theological school. 'The fall after I graduated,' said he, 'my father sent me to Dr. West's house to study Theology. Very soon after my admission, he placed in my hands such books as Edwards's powerful work on Original Sin, Hopkins's *Treatise on Holiness*. . . .'"[2]

There is also a testimony as to the method of William Graham, who, while conducting one of the academies referred to above, gave special attention to the preparation of students immediately for the ministry. It is:

From the time of his ordination by the Presbytery of Hanover in 1775 he became a teacher of Theology. Most of those who entered the holy ministry in the Valley of Virginia pursued their preparatory studies under his direction. And, after the great revival, which commenced in 1789, he had a theological class of seven or eight members, under his tuition, which he kept up for several years. It was his custom to devote one day in a week to hearing the written discourses of these candidates, and to a free discussion of theological points. . . . Yet he encouraged the

[1] Rev. Chester Dewey, in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 553.

[2] Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, *ibid.*, p. 556.

Among the books read by Thomas Robbins while a student under Dr. West, were Fuller's *Letters*, Edwards's *Inquiry*, West's *Moral Agency*, Hume's *Essay on Miracles*, Campbell's *Answer to Hume*, Horne's *Letters on Missions*, Taylor on *Original Sin*, Edwards's *Last End of Creation*, Hopkins's *System*.

Among his exercises were essays and sermons on such subjects as *The Divinity of the Scriptures, The Moral State of Man Now, The Necessity of Atonement, The Necessity of Regeneration, The Scripture Doctrine of Atonement, The Cause and Nature of Regeneration* (*Diary of Thomas Robbins*, for June, 1797).

utmost freedom of discussion, and seemed to aim, not so much to bring his pupils to think as he did, as to teach them to think on all subjects for themselves. A slavish subjection to human authority he repudiated . . . [he] uniformly insisted that all opinions be subjected to the test of Scripture and reason. Some of his students have been heard to say that the chief benefit which they derived from his instruction, was, that, by this means, they were led to the free and independent exercise of their own faculties in the investigation of truth.[1]

Of the work of Asa Burton, we have the following:

As an instructor in Theology, he was much distinguished. As his views were exceedingly lucid, his method of imparting instruction was simple and easy. However abstruse the subject on which he was speaking, his pupils never had occasion to ask him what he meant. The first ten subjects in his system which he prescribed were metaphysical; for he said he never had a pupil from any College, who had any consistent or definite view of free, moral agency. He considered that a correct knowledge of the human mind bore much the same relation to a correct understanding of Divinity, as that of anatomy does to the healing art. Whatever may be thought of his speculations in mental philosophy he unquestionably took the only consistent method to a right and thorough understanding of his subject. He treated it according to the laws of classification. He instructed his pupils to inquire into the general and specific differences of their mental operations;—how the intellectual and perceptive differed from the sentiment or feeling; how these differed from the voluntary; and to reckon all those which had a common nature as belonging to the same faculty, and to inquire why these faculties were necessary to constitute accountable, moral agents. It had been commonly agreed that beings who had the three faculties, understanding, heart and will, were moral agents; but comparatively few had ever thought of inquiring why these faculties or any others were necessary to render them such. He placed a great value upon truth. Few minds have ever been more strongly

[1] Alexander, A., in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 368 f.

impressed with the importance of correct views upon all subjects, especially of religion. At the same time he was not captious, disputatious, nor censorious. But in nothing were his services more important, or his influence more enduring, than in the aiding young men in their preparation for the ministry.[1]

More specifically as to his method is the following from another source. "Besides the instruction conveyed by his daily intercourse, he was accustomed to spend about three hours at a time, twice each week, lecturing to them [*i.e.* his pupils] on the various points of his system."[2] He began this work about 1786, and from that date until 1816, when he declined to take any more, he had from two to four students under his care. We know something also of the details of his equipment. It is authoritatively stated as to this that "the Theological library of Dr. Burton, with the exception of a few commentaries, is now in the possession of the writer. One shelf, about six feet long, contains the whole. He did not bury his students amid the productions of the Dark Ages, nor deluge them with periodicals; but he *taught them to think*." And again from the same authority,

Lest it be thought that his own mind suffered, it may be proper to state that there was an excellent library in Thetford, formed through his instrumentality, and chiefly of his own selection. Of course theology had its due proportion. He also had access to the libraries of Dartmouth College

Dr. Burton is described as not being a general reader, nor a classical scholar nor a rhetorician. But one whose judgment is not to be disregarded says: "As an instructor in systematic theology, I give him a higher place than any other man whom I have ever known."[3]

[1] Rev. David Thurston, in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 147.

[2] Rev. Thomas Adams, *American Quarterly Register*, May, 1838, vol. x, p. 332.

[3] *Ibid.*, note by Rev. David Thurston.

Of John Woodhull's work in this sphere it is recorded: "As a teacher he moved pretty much in the beaten track, and had a set of questions from which he rarely departed in the examination of his students."[1]

It is said of the work of Nathan Grier:

Those who studied under his direction were accustomed to divide their time between the study of the Scriptures, Ecclesiastical History, and a series of questions—about one hundred in number—in the usual order of the System of Theology. On these questions they were required to write pretty fully, and submit the results to his examination and criticism. In like manner, they composed sermons, on which they had his opinion as to matter and manner.[2]

The method of Asahel Hooker is described as follows:

He had a list of questions, as was common at that day, embracing all the essential points in a theological course, on which we were required to write. In preparing . . . we were expected prayerfully to study the Scriptures, and to avail ourselves of such other helps as were in our reach. We read our theses before him at certain hours.[3]

Of John Anderson, whose name should be included in the list of Presbyterian pastors engaged in this kind of work, and who was of North Carolina and Pennsylvania, it is said, "As a teacher of Theology he took deep interest in developing the native talent of his pupils . . . his aim was to train

[1] Rev. John McDowell, in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 307. He also remarks: "I do not think that he was very extensively read in Theology . . . certainly his library was very limited; and yet he seemed to understand well the doctrines and relations of his own system."

[2] Rev. David McConaughy, President of Washington College, Penn., in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 465.

[3] Rev. Heman Humphrey, in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 300: "Mr. Hooker was uncommonly skilful as well as successful as a theological teacher."

his pupils for preaching the truth rather than figuring in polemics."

From these instances,[1] it may be gathered that there was some diversity of method among these teachers. Some of them seem to have confined themselves to a short course. All of them seem to have traversed a rather limited field, which appears to have consisted chiefly of what was known as "divinity" proper, or systematic theology. There is certainly a lack of specific reference on the part of their pupils who have written concerning their instruction to such subjects as history and antiquities, though this failure to mention these is, of course, not conclusive proof that they did not teach them. In the case of Nathan Grier, ecclesiastical history is distinctly named as a main subject, though no similar reference has been found with regard to any of the others. While some were evidently somewhat formal in their instruction, delivering regular lectures to their small classes, as did Burton, others appear to have relied chiefly on directing the reading of their students, catechizing them on the subjects thus studied, and inspecting their written exercises on questions in theology, and in interpretation of Scripture, including sermons. There were in each case the opportunity and advantage of close contact between teacher and pupil, and of informal intercourse. Some of the teachers seem to have encouraged the presentation of difficulties that the student might feel on any specific subject. It will be noticed that the pupils from whom the testimony here presented comes speak frequently and strongly of the attempt of these instructors to stimulate individual and independent thought on the part of the students. More than once it is emphasized that their aim was not so much to

[1] For the method of Dr. Joseph Lathrop, of West Springfield, Mass., which was essentially the same as that of Dr. Bellamy, see Woods, Leonard, *History of Andover Theological Seminary*, p. 23; the whole of chapter i for the presentation of the method of private teaching.

produce learned men as to quicken the intellectual and spiritual life of those whom they taught. On the other hand, it appears that the instruction in some cases may have been somewhat dry and formal, and, perhaps, even perfunctory. It became, sometimes at least, rather desultory as to method; that is, in the actual work of the student. There was, however, the advantage of having an opportunity for special and expert instruction in certain phases of purely pastoral work. The situation of the student, and the fact that the instructor was constantly engaged in pastoral work as his chief occupation, gave the best opportunity for first-hand study of this phase of the minister's activity. There is reason to believe, however, that this part of the instruction, while actually obtained and of the greatest value, was probably regarded, at any rate for the most part, as incidental, rather than essential, the objective being apparently the attainment of proficiency in "divinity." There were also certain disadvantages in the method which are quite obvious, and are inherent in it. Such were the narrowness of the field that it was practicable to cover, even if there had been much disposition to make it broader; the tendency toward a shortened course; the absence of the stimulus coming from a large body of students working together, an academic atmosphere, and a corps of specialized instructors in various departments. In spite of these and any other disadvantages that may have existed, the method continued from before the middle of the eighteenth, until well into the nineteenth century, and during a large part of this period was almost universal. If the efficiency manifested by the men trained under it furnishes any true basis for making an estimate of its value, it was at least far more effective in its purpose to provide an acceptable ministry for the country and the time that would naturally be expected from only a theoretical consideration of its probable utility. Many men of the greatest distinction in the American pulpit received their

training in this way.[1] And it is very doubtful whether, in a comparison of careers, these ministers as a class would be found to be at all inferior to those who were trained in the same period by the professors of divinity and other instructors in the colleges, whose work constituted the only other method of ministerial training then in operation.

As to the causes of the practice of the private teaching of theology in America, it seems that at first it was due to the lack of any other facilities whatever. But it is clear that this will not account for its final wide extension and long continuance, for these occurred during a period when colleges and chairs of divinity were being steadily multiplied. As has already been suggested, the revival movement seems to have been a cause of the resort to the practice. So also were certain consequences of that movement; as, for instance, the multiplication of congregations[2] and the demand for ministers, which called for as short a method of preparation for the work as could be devised; a conception that the college atmosphere was probably not the best place for developing the kind of spiritual life that, in the judgment of the leaders establishing the method, was the most desirable for a minister to possess; the actual separation that had already occurred between the regular college curriculum and the chair of divinity in the college, and the self-perpetuating tendency natural to any way of doing anything after it has once become recognized as regular. Besides these, there were considerations of convenience from the standpoint of the student, which were doubtless of no inconsiderable influence. In certain sections the lack of other facilities did, of course, tend even at a late date to justify and perpetuate the practice. That there were

[1] Some of the most distinguished teachers were themselves trained thus: Smalley was a pupil of Bellamy and Emmons of Smalley.

[2] See S. Leroy Blake, *The Separates or Strict Congregationalists of New England*, Boston, c. 1902, p. 126 ff.

however, other and deeper causes even in such regions is seen in the fact that the private academies which did so much of the training of Presbyterian ministers were mostly, if not quite without exception, permeated by what we would to-day call a decidedly evangelistic spirit. And there was all the while the evident fact of the acceptability and efficiency of men trained under this system, together with the theoretical justification, that instruction by an active pastor especially interested in training men for his own profession might be, after all, just the best possible to be obtained for that work. It was also the case that in college, as for instance at Dartmouth, the study of divinity might amount to nothing more than a self-directed course in reading.[1] Both as cause and effect, appears the final attitude of the ministry, at least of New England, which was one of encouragement to a shortened course of the more special preparation for the ministry, though not of the college training.[2] The effect of the practice as a whole may be summed up as a lowering of the standard of ministerial education. Allowance should be made, however, for such

[1] Asa Burton and another candidate at Dartmouth, 1753–57, "received no instruction, except as to the authors they should read. Their attention was chiefly directed to Witsius's *Economy of the Covenants*, and Ridgeley's *Body of Divinity*" (*American Quarterly Register*, May, 1838, vol. x, p. 324). Being unexpectedly licensed to preach while engaged in this post-graduate study, and realizing "that he was poorly furnished . . . he put himself under the direction of Rev. Levi Hart of Preston, Ct., where he spent about three months reading books of divinity, writing on theological subjects, and preaching occasionally in the neighboring towns" (*ibid.*).

[2] Rev. Professor Nathaniel Taylor, D.D., in Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 161, writes of his experience as a student of Yale under Timothy Dwight: "He [that is Dwight] always advised and even urged young men,—when the fashion was to be licensed to preach within a few months, or even weeks, after they were graduated, to remain and study Theology, at least for one or two years. It was in compliance with his counsel that I did so, though it was a thing nearly or quite unprecedented, and though my classmates, and even ministers, regarded it as little better than lost. But Dr. Dwight, in his views of this subject, was greatly in advance of most of his contemporaries."

corrective influences as were exercised by the ecclesiastical authorities of the denominations asserting the right to control such matters, the attitude of the private academies, and the influence of the chairs of divinity in the colleges.

(*f*) *The Increase in the Number of Educational Opportunities*

It should be remembered that this period is characterized by the multiplication of the facilities for higher education in America. Between 1754 and 1770 the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth were founded (the modern name is used in each case for convenience). The ancient motive of the desire for a trained ministry was powerful in the cases of Rutgers and Dartmouth, while denominational devotion founded Brown. All of them have had a part at least in the preparatory academic training of Protestant ministers.

3. From the Revolution to the End of the Century

(*a*) *The Revolution and Education for the Ministry*

The serious effect of the Revolution on educational work and institutions in America is generally recognized.[1] The temporary scattering of the students of Yale, the suspension of the College of New Jersey, the interference with the work of Harvard, are familiar facts. Of William and Mary, President Madison wrote to President Stiles of Yale, Aug. 1, 1780: "Since the Revolution its former resources have been almost annihilated."[2]

The supply of candidates for the ministry was reduced. This class of students suffered a loss greater in proportion than the whole body of students. For, from the lists available, it appears that the whole number of graduates in the

[1] See Dexter, *History of Education in the U. S.*, ch. xv.

[2] Dexter, F. B., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, vol. ii, pp. 447, 448.

colleges of New England, New York, and New Jersey, from 1768 to 1775, inclusive, was eight hundred and fifty-five, of whom two hundred and eighty-seven were ministers; while for the seven years, 1776 to 1783, inclusive, there were seven hundred and sixty-nine graduates, of whom about one hundred and forty-five became ministers.[1] Indeed, as the end of the struggle drew near the number of students tended to increase. It was in 1782 that President Stiles could record a total of two hundred and eighteen undergraduates in Yale, the highest until then in the history of any one American college. The largest class was the Freshman, numbering sixty.[2] As early as 1780, President Madison wrote to Dr. Stiles that the number of students in William and Mary was "more considerable than heretofore" and was increasing daily.[3] But the proportion seeking the ministry remained low. For those who did seek it the situation must have been anything but encouraging. In many places the churches had been disorganized and impoverished. By the end of the war this had taken place among the Episcopalians in Virginia to an almost overwhelming extent.[4] It seems prob-

[1] At Yale the decrease is seen thus: Candidates for the ministry, class of 1775, 12; of 1776, 3; of 1777, 7; of 1778, 1 (Stiles, *Diary*, as above, p. 310). At Princeton in 1775 there were, in a class of twenty-seven, ten candidates; in 1783, in a class of fourteen there were two candidates. In Nov., 1779, Stiles (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 389) estimated that there were fewer than ninety candidates in New England with probably two hundred and fifty vacant charges. Writing on Jan. 11, 1780, he gives the number, including "preachers unsettled," as seventy-seven.

[2] Stiles, *Diary*, vol. iii, p. 48.

[3] Stiles, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 448.

[4] Meade, W., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 17.

In October, 1775, the Synod of the Dutch Church recorded the following action: "By reason of the pitiful condition of our land, the consideration of the subject of the Professorate is deferred" (*Centennial Volume of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church*, etc., p. 82). Gotwald, F. G., *Early American Lutheran Theological Education, 1745–1845*, p. 2: "Dr. Kunze's plan contemplated an affiliation between the work of the [proposed] theological seminary and the classical department of the University of Pennsylvania. But his fond expectations ended in disappointment owing largely to the Revolutionary War."

able that those who did enter the ministry during this period received their more immediate preparation for the most part from pastors, as the custom was; or, among the Presbyterians, in such schools as that of Graham in Virginia.

The success of the Revolution also affected the church life of the country. With the independence of the Colonies the connection of the churches with the parent bodies was definitely and finally broken. In anticipation of it, indeed, the department of divinity at William and Mary had already been abolished.[1] On the other hand, it is after this that the local objections to an American episcopate disappear,[2] and the Dutch secure full ecclesiastical autonomy.[3] These events soon had their effect in efforts for the local training of the ministry. The year after the close of the War was marked by the establishment by the Dutch of a regular official professorship for the training of candidates in distinctively theological studies.[4] Ten years later Service Seminary (now Xenia Theological Seminary) was founded by the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, under the influence of the realization of the self-dependent character of the American churches.[5]

(*b*) *The Chairs of Divinity*

In the meanwhile, however, the chairs of divinity at Harvard, Yale, and the College of New Jersey had been

[1] As being originally intended for an established church; which was thought incompatible with a republic. See letter of President Madison in Stiles, *Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 447, 448.

[2] Meade, W., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 171; *American Church History Series*, vol. vii, p. 322 *sq.*

[3] *American Church History Series*, vol. viii, p. 176.

[4] *Memoirs of J. H. Livingston*, p. 274 n.

[5] Johnson, J., "Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies" (*Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. v, p. 123).

doing their work.[1] They had not been left without students, despite the activity of the private instructor in theology, and the all but universal patronage accorded him. They indeed continued to do their work until the seminaries absorbed them, or made them no longer necessary. There exists personal testimony to the character and method of this instruction, some of which has been found available for this study. It concerns the work of two contemporary incumbents of chairs of divinity in the closing years of this period. They were Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of the College of New Jersey, 1794–1812, and Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, 1795–1817. They each served both as president and as professor of divinity in their respective institutions. Of the work of the former, Rev. Philip Lindsley, D.D., President of the University of Nashville, writing in 1848, says:

> The "Divinity Class" consisted, in my time [1807–10] of some eight or ten young men, including the College Tutors . . . to whose instruction he devoted two evenings of the week. He generally read a certain portion of his Lectures or notes as he called them; and dilated upon the topics, in a free, colloquial style, and always much to our edification. He directed our course of reading, heard our essays, and suggested subjects for investigation, dissertation, or oral disputation. The course included Theology, ecclesiastical history and polity, pastoral duties, the Bible, and a large range in the fields of classic and general literature.[2]

Of the work of Dr. Dwight, Professor Denison Olmsted, LL.D., a member of a select class that recited to him in theology, wrote in 1848:

[1] "It should be said that despite the number and popularity of these private schools, the earlier practice of making divinity a subject of post-graduate study had by no means ceased" (Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 127).

[2] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 343.

As an instructor, it is not easy to overrate his merits. . . . He urged the importance of observing facts, explained the principles of association, and the various arts which would contribute to fix them in the mind, and also displayed in his reasonings and illustrations both the efficacy of his rules, and the utility of the practice which he so earnestly recommended. If he insisted on thinking in a train, and on adhering to an exact method in the arrangement of one's acquisitions, and in communicating his thoughts to others, the value of these directions he proved by the readiness with which he assembled his own thoughts to elucidate a point in discussion, and the clearness with which he unfolded them.[1]

Rev. Professor Nathaniel Taylor, D.D., also of Yale, wrote in 1844 as follows:

I may notice his earnest desire and vigorous efforts to increase the means of theological education. He always advised and even urged young men,—when the fashion was to be licensed to preach within a few months, or even weeks, after they were graduated, to remain and study Theology at least for one or two years. . . . To him, I think, is preëminently to be traced the great progress of theological education, especially in New England, for the last thirty or forty years.[2]

The wider range of the instruction given by these chairs at this time, as contrasted with that imparted by the private teachers of theology, is one of the most obvious inferences to be drawn from the testimonies of those who had studied under the respective methods which have been presented here. It is also evident that one of the influences corrective of the tendency to a short and meager theological course

[1] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 161 *sq.* This is given as the opinion of Dr. Taylor who indeed himself safeguards it with the parenthetical "I think." It is quoted here as an estimate made by high authority of the influence of the chairs of divinity. If the discussion were to proceed to discover all the influences contributing to the progress of education, other names would certainly require mention.

was the chair of divinity in the colleges. The men who went into the ministry at this period were, as a rule, college graduates. And the professor of divinity, especially if he were, as was the case with Smith and Dwight, also the head of the college, had a special opportunity for influencing them to take the more extensive preparation offered by the divinity chair. No doubt this influence would have been exercised at an earlier period more than it appears to have been, had it been realized then, as Dr. Dwight in his time realized, that the actual standard for the technical education of the ministry was being steadily and damagingly lowered, and that one of the forces contributing to this was the practice of private instruction, which was after all merely a combination of tutorial methods with actual apprenticeship.

(*c*) *The Beginnings of Theological Seminaries*

A full discussion of the origin of the theological seminaries lies beyond the scope of this study. But their first appearance lies within its chronological limits, and therefore demands a notice. It is perhaps sufficient merely to set down here the chief facts concerning the first seminaries. The earliest step toward the establishment of such an institution was, as already stated, the election by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of its first official Professors. This took place in May, 1784. Dr. Joannes H. Livingston was chosen Professor of Sacred Theology, and Dr. Hermanus Meyer Instructor in the "Inspired Languages," at the same meeting at which action was taken declaring "that studies preparatory to Theology are 'absolutely necessary,'" and pledging earnest support to Queen's College. It was voted also to aid in the establishment of a college at Schenectady, N. Y.[1] Some ten years after this,

[1] *Centennial Volume of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church*, etc., p. 83; *Memoirs of J. H. Livingston*, p. 273.

that is in 1794, the United Presbyterians founded the second Protestant theological seminary in the country.[1] And before the end of the century the ideas were already powerfully at work which early in the following one issued in the activities which finally accomplished the establishment of Andover, Princeton, and Union in Virginia.

(*d*) *Certain Characteristics of the History of Ministerial Training During the Eighteenth Century*

Among the noticeable features of the history of ministerial training in America in the century just considered, may be mentioned the following. (1) As a period in this history the century is marked by movement and development. It was a time of the attainment of American self-consciousness; and, while its earlier decades manifest no sense of separateness from the mother country, yet even they are marked by a development of American education. Allowing for the foreign-trained Anglicans and Dutch, and for the first pastors of the Presbyterian immigration, the ministry in this century is more and more American in training. (2) The pressure

[1] *American Church History Series*, vol. xi, p. 176.

Clark, Calvin M., *History of Bangor Theological Seminary*, p. 19 n., 18: "Of these [sc. theological seminaries] there were three, New Brunswick, established 1784." Johnson, Jesse, "Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies" (*Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, vol. v, p. 123): "Until 1784 there was no theological seminary in America. New Brunswick Seminary began its honorable career in New York City in that year." It is true that both of these, the first and second Protestant Seminaries, were, at the beginning, one-man institutions. But since it is rather the function than the size of an institution, that should determine its character, it appears only proper to abide by the classification given these schools here. To do otherwise would be to deny the title of seminary also to the first stages of the Associate Reformed Seminary in New York City, the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary in Philadelphia, Princeton Seminary, the Associate Reformed Seminary in Pittsburgh, and Union Seminary at Hampden-Sidney (now in Richmond), Virginia. See Johnson, J., *op. cit.*, p. 124; and Moore, W. W. and Scherer, Tilden, *The Centennial Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Professors and Alumni of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia*, p. 8.

of practical work, as the Church then understood it, became very strong before the middle of the century, and again towards the end of it, and each time tended to hasten men into the work of the ministry. (3) The method of private teaching in immediate preparation for the ministry was characteristic of the last half of the century, the courses under this system being, as a rule, short, and the method of instruction somewhat desultory. (4) On the whole it appears that, except in the case of the Dutch Reformed, there took place in the course of the century a general lowering of the requirement as to specifically theological training. (5) The latter part of the century manifests the presence of influences that tended to counteract this.[1] (6) Throughout the century the standard of collegiate requirement for the ministry remains unchanged, and the practice was to require a college training or an equivalent.[2]

[1] These influences were not organized as yet, but individual, as in the case of Dwight, cited above. Yet the Dutch Church took action in 1788, requiring that all students before entering upon theological studies should have either a B.A. degree, or pass an examination by a committee of the Synod in the "languages, arts, and sciences which are ordinarily required in the American colleges for the procuring of said degree" (*Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*, p. 179).

But the requirement in the Episcopal Church was fixed in 1789 to consist of sufficient acquaintance with the New Testament in the original Greek to read it, and ability on the part of the candidate to give an account of his faith, in the Latin tongue, either in writing, or otherwise; but in the same canon vii provision was made for the dispensation from either or both these language requirements (*Journal of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., from the year 1784 to the year 1814 inclusive*, p. 96). See also the "Course of Ecclesiastical Studies, established by the House of Bishops in the Convention of 1804" (*ibid.*, pp. 345–350).

For the ideals of the later portion of the period in England the lists and schemes of "heads" by Bentham, Bennett, Dupin, Wilkins, and Ryland, are very interesting. Generally, questions of pure theology seem to have the larger place in these.

[2] A study of the lists of the ministers in Connecticut and Massachusetts shows that it was not until well after 1800 that it became at all frequent in those states to have ministers who lacked college degrees.

III

CONCLUSION

1. Two Special Features of the Training of the Whole Period

The study of the whole period has revealed two distinctive features not yet mentioned, but which seem to call for special notice.

(*a*) *The Relation of the Ministry to Medicine*

The first pertains to the relation of the ministry to medicine, and is significant as illustrating the breadth and range of attainment which in many instances characterized the individual ministers of the two centuries under investigation, and which is no longer at all a feature of the ministerial life of to-day.

There are, indeed, many cases in which the ministers of this period became more or less expert in branches of knowledge outside their special sphere. They were frequently successful farmers, skilled horticulturists, effective teachers, now and then lawyers, and often mathematicians of high attainment. Some of them proved themselves far-sighted business men, while others were distinguished civilians. In nearly all of these spheres, ministers of to-day are frequently found, many of them very efficient.[1] But the special sphere of their extra-clerical activity in the period before us was that of medicine. Writing of John Rogers, who graduated at Harvard in 1659, Sprague[2] says that he "studied, as was not uncommon in his time, both medicine and divinity." While the fact of the practice and its commonness is thus

[1] As will occur to any one familiar with the Middle West. The cause is by no means always "economic pressure."

[2] *Annals*, vol. i, p. 146.

evidently recognized, yet it does not seem to have received the emphasis which it deserves. Among the more prominent ministers of the whole period who had studied medicine were John Ward, John Fiske, Isaac and Ichabod Chauncy, Cotton Mather, Thomas Thacher, John Rogers, Jared Eliot, Michael and Samuel Wigglesworth, John Graham, Thomas Smith, Christopher Tappan, Samuel Haven, Samuel Eaton, Nathaniel Niles, Manasseh Cutler, Jonathan French, Jonathan Dickinson, Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Parsons, David Cowell, Jacob Green, Samuel Kennedy, Matthew Wilson, David Caldwell, David McCalla, Thomas Reese, Joseph Badger, Nash Legrand, James Welch, Lewis F. Wilson, and John Poage Campbell. It will be observed that the list extends from practically the beginning of the English settlements to, and past, the end of the period.[1] Some of them, indeed, never practiced as physicians; but others of them, as Thacher and Eliot, were physicians of distinction in the profession itself. The emphasis which the fact of this large participation of the ministry in the work of another profession has especially failed to receive is that which it should have in its relation to the breadth of the ministerial culture.

While it is not contended that a knowledge of medicine was ever, during this period, considered an essential part of the equipment of the ministry, yet the possession of such knowledge by so many ministers actually extends the area of the culture of their class as a whole. And this is the more significant, since it is probably not true that the converse was the case: that is, it does not seem that physicians were at all so frequently technically informed in theology as the ministers were in medicine. Nor does it appear that lawyers furnished so significant a number of either physicians or theologians. That is, the other two professions, counted with the ministry as "learned," were not distinguished by

[1] It is not confined to any section, either.

the same versatility in their individual membership as the ministry. The practical bearing of the minister's acquaintance with medicine is obvious and important, but beyond the scope of this inquiry.

(*b*) *The Manner of Delivering Sermons*

The other special feature of the ministerial training of the period has to do with the practical work of the pulpit. It is the method of the delivery of sermons. At Harvard and Yale public declamation was a part of the regular undergraduate training. This was also the case, at least to some extent, in the English universities.[1] Cotton Mather writes of John Warham, who came to New England in 1639, as follows:

> I suppose that the first preacher that ever preached with notes in our New England was the Rev. Warham; who, though he were sometimes faulted for it by some judicious men who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry.[2]

Mather's uncle, Nathaniel Mather, wrote to him:

> I had forgot to say to yourself by any means get to preach without any use or help by your notes. When I was in New England, no man that I remember used them except one, and he because of a special infirmity, the vertigo, as I take it, or some specie of it. Neither of your Grandfathers [Richard Mather and John Cotton] used any, nor did your uncle [Samuel Mather] here, nor doe I, though wee both of us write generally the materialls of all our sermons.[3]

Increase Mather has in his diary this entry (p. 21): "Studyed (and also committed to memory) a whole sermon ye day."[4]

[1] At Pembroke College. See above, note 1, page 97.

[2] Sprague, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 11.

[3] "Diary of Cotton Mather," vol. i, p. 5, note (in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*).

[4] I. Mather, *Diary, March 1675–December, 1676. . . . With Introduction and Notes by Samuel A. Green.*

In his advice to students Cotton Mather says:

If you must have your notes before you in preaching, and it be needful, for you, *De scripto dicere*,—yet let there be with you a distinction between the neat using of notes, and the dull reading of them. How can you demand of them to remember much of what you bring to them; when you remember nothing of it yourself? Besides by reading all you say you will so cramp and blunt all ability for speaking that you will be unable to make an handsome speech on any occasion.[1]

Sereno Edwards Dwight wrote that Timothy Edwards (1669–1758) "always preached extemporaneously, and, until he was upwards of seventy, without noting down the heads of his discourse."[2] Nehemiah Walter (1688–1750), according to Sprague, "preached a few years after his settlement without a manuscript, according to the custom of the day; but, his memory having been impaired by a severe illness, he was obliged from that time to keep his manuscript before him."[3] Simon Bradstreet (1697–1741) used no notes.[4] Samuel Moody, of the same period precisely, wrote little, and read less in the pulpit.[5] Nathaniel Chauncy, according to Prof. Fowler, of Amherst, wrote his sermons carefully, but carried no paper of any kind into the pulpit. His date is 1706–56.[6]

There are many other instances of the same kind recorded of the early period of the pulpit in New England. But Dr. George Leon Walker, writing of the practice at the time of the Awakening, says: "The ministers of New England at this period, with very few exceptions, preached from closely written manuscripts which must generally have been held in the hand, and often near to the eyes."[7] It is not intended

[1] *Manductio ad Ministerium*, p. 114.
[2] Quoted in Sprague, *op. cit.*, i, p. 232.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 218. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 242. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
Ibid., p. 264. [7] As cited, p. 92.

to contradict this high authority, especially as the statement is carefully confined to New England. But I venture to remark that the exceptions do seem somewhat more numerous than the words "very few" would suggest. And I would also call attention to the inferential character of the judgment as to the use of the closely written manuscripts; that is, the expression, "which must generally have been held in the hand, and often very close to the eyes." And in connection with this I would adduce a remark of similar import made by Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Me., who, writing of Rev. Henry Gibbs, who was ordained at Watertown, Mass., in 1697, says:

> The author of this Article has a fragment of a sermon [of Gibbs]. . . . So near together are the lines of this manuscript, that in some place *fourteen* of them, and *seventeen*, *eighteen*, and even *nineteen* in others are crowded into a space of *one inch* in breadth. The writing in these lines is of a corresponding fineness: . . . But of what use the mansucript containing them could have been to its worthy author in the pulpit, is difficult to conceive; each page of it, at a small distance from the eye, appearing but little other than one uniform blur.[1]

Now it will be observed that this manuscript was of the very period of which Sprague, whose authority on this subject is at least worthy of respect, says that to preach "without a manuscript" was "according to the custom of the time" (see above in the reference to Nehemiah Walter). And it is carefully described as of no conceivable use for reading in the pulpit. Is not the natural and proper inference, then, that it was not so used, and never intended to be? Neither Dr. Walker, nor Mr. Sewall, adduces any evidence, though such may exist, for the inference that these old manuscripts were held very near the eyes, and so read to the congregation, except that they could not be read in any other way; and

[1] *American Quarterly Register for 1842*, p. 254.

Mr. Sewall, at least, seems to believe that, somehow, even one that was practically illegible when so handled was nevertheless so used. May it not rather be that these writers have allowed themselves to be influenced by the practice of a later time, and to conclude that because then written sermons were also read sermons, they were always so? Some support for this explanation of their apparent reasoning is the rather general assumption that appears to prevail, even in quarters where more accurate information should be expected, that any speech delivered to-day without manuscript or notes is therefore "*ex tempore*."

At any rate there is positive testimony that the first ministers of New England preached as a rule without manuscript or notes, though not therefore extemporaneously. And there appears reason to believe that this custom continued well into the eighteenth century, though the practice of reading did finally supersede it, and became indeed characteristic of the New England pulpit. As to this being the fact by the latter part of the eighteenth century, we have the personal testimony of Rev. Eliphalet Nott. Writing of his visit, in the summer of 1795, to President Smith (a Presbyterian), of Union College, in New York, he says: "Coming as I did from Connecticut where the discourses of the clergy were, for the most part, argumentative, written discourses, and read calmly and deliberately from the pulpit, the impassioned and extemporaneous efforts of Dr. Smith filled me alike with admiration and amazement."[1] As early as the time of Cotton Mather's *Manductio* the practice of reading sermons, or of a large use of notes in delivering them, had become sufficiently noticeable in New England to justify, as has been seen, the inclusion in that book of a warning against it. Outside of New England, and perhaps outside of Congregationalism generally in America, the practice seems all along to have been more after the manner

[1] In Sprague, *Annals*, vol. iii, p. 404.

illustrated by the case of President Smith just mentioned. For it is recorded that in 1699 Joseph Morgan, a Presbyterian, of Bradford, N. Y., "when he commenced preaching —contrary to the practice of the times, he used notes; but some of his brethren protested against it so strongly, that he quickly abandoned them."[1] Indeed the data available seem to justify the conclusion that freedom from the use of the manuscript which characterized the ministry of New England in the early times continued to be generally manifested in other sections of the country, and among the Presbyterians especially, even after it had become the exception among the New England Congregationalists.[2]

2. General Features of the Training of the Whole Period

There are also certain general features of the training of the ministry during this whole period which appear to deserve special notice in a summary of its characteristics.

(a) *The Training Always Intended to Meet a Need*

In the first place, the training was always intended to meet a need. This appeared in two phases. One pertained to the ministry as related to the people. It was firmly held throughout this period that the people needed a ministry, and one competent to discharge efficiently its natural function, a large part of which was conceived to consist in instruction, and this in a special sphere. For the ministry was not considered among Protestants as a priesthood in any such sense as would render its officiation all that was necessary regardless of the special competency of its members, any more than of their personal character. Learning was as

[1] Sprague, *Annals*, vol. iii, p. 19 note.

[2] See the unsystematic essay of William Spooner Smith [1821-1916], *Sermon Reading, from the Notebook of an Octogenarian Traveller*, Boston, 1916.

necessary as godliness. The idea that a trained ministry was a necessity was expressed by the community of early America without sectional or denominational exceptions; through its civil, as well as its ecclesiastical, representatives and institutions. Indeed, in the case of Virginia and the New Netherlands, it was recognized even by the trading companies through which these colonies were founded and for a long time promoted. The reports of the early efforts to secure a competent ministry according to this conception contain sufficient evidence of this generally recognized fact.

The other phase in which the need of special training for the ministry appeared pertained to the minister as one essaying to do a special kind of work. Theology was recognized as a science, special training in which was necessary to one who would be thoroughly furnished to impart its truth; and this was regarded as the chief function of the minister. The Scriptures, furthermore, were considered the sole source of, and authority for, all that might be presented as Christian theology. It was, therefore, necessary to understand them. Since these were written in languages alien to the people, special knowledge of these tongues was thought needful to one who would interpret them with certainty. Besides these considerations, it is scarcely to be doubted that in the period of the founding of the American colonies there was generally held the conviction that Christianity presented a "world-view," and (which may account for the less clear and forceful assertion of the conviction) the only true one. So it followed logically (at least in the opinion of the writer) that men like Cotton Mather and Thomas Bray, who were especially engaged in determining what should constitute the proper scholastic training for the ministry, insisted on the universality of the range of the studies which should form the curriculum of this training. So also a college training as broad as the age afforded was, even after the colleges had ceased to be places chiefly for ministerial training, held

throughout this period to be necessary to a proper preparation of a minister. Nor was this only a local, New England, or American, opinion. So far was it from being a mere self-preservative method of a New England priestly class, as Mr. Brooks Adams[1] seems to contend, that it was universally recognized by all parties in America which conceived of the ministry as a source and instrument of special instruction for the Church and community, and that it was, indeed, a Protestant principle, held in England and on the Continent as universally as in America.

(*b*) *The Training Always Intended to be as Broad as the University Training of the Time*

It seems also fairly evident that the training of the ministry consisted, at least in its preliminary parts, of the best college training obtainable, and that, as a class, the ministers were the best educated men in their communities, and that any lowering of the standard in the more technical preparation which may have occurred did not take place until in the later portion of the period.

(*c*) *The Actual Training Affected by Certain Circumstances and Movements*

It also appears that the training given was, despite the constant ideal, affected both in its method and in its standard, by certain forces, more or less generally operative at different times in the country. These were due to both spiritual and intellectual movements, operating chiefly in the religious sphere, such as the revivals, and the interest in dogmatic theology (especially in New England); to civil and political developments, such as the Revolutionary War, and the independence of the colonies; and to social and economic conditions arising out of the various stages of the material

[1] *See* his *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, chapter ix.

history of the country, as, for instance, the extension of the frontier, and the presence, or absence, of facilities for transportation, trade, and the like.

3. Suggested Conclusion

In view of the whole study, the following general conclusions are suggested.

(*a*) *As to the Maintenance of the Standard*

It seems that at the beginning the standard of ministerial training was quite definite. In Virginia it was recognized as being the highest held in theory, at least, by the Anglican Church; in New Netherlands, it was the very definite and high requirement of the Reformed Church of Holland; and in New England, it was that of English Nonconformity at its best. At a later period the Presbyterian Church brought also a definite requirement, similar to, if not identical with, that of the Dutch Church. Until a little before the middle of the eighteenth century it seems that this academic standard was well sustained in actual practice, except, perhaps, in Virginia and Maryland, where among the Anglicans, it seems, while not universally, yet somewhat generally, to have been lowered, *i.e.*, in practice, but not at all in theory.[1] After the first forty years of the century there can be traced a steady tendency toward a practically lowered standard of actual preparation immediately for the work of the pastorate. This did not, however, affect the demand for the regular preparatory studies preliminary to those of theology. The shortened course of theological

[1] Of a tota lo fsome three hundred and eighty missionaries o the S. P. G. ent to colonial America from 1701 to the Revolution somewhat fewer than one third appear from the lists in *The Classified Digest* of the Society as possessing college degrees. See the *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701–1892* (Second Edition).

training appears especially among the Congregationalists, and also extensively among the Presbyterians. It seems that, on the whole, the Dutch Church was the only one of the denominations here considered to maintain its standard wholly unimpaired; and this was due to foreign cont rol.

(*b*) *As to the Standard in Comparison with that of Other Professions*

The fact that there were just two other professions besides the ministry which in this period were given the title of "learned" suggests at once a comparison of the requirements of the time for these.

To make this with thoroughness is more than the task originally set. But the main facts involved in such a comparison may be noted. It seems generally agreed that there was no academic requirement for the practice of law throughout this period, although the earlier lawyers of the country probably were as a rule men of education. But though the first law school in America was established in 1784, there were no entrance examinations required for admission to any of them prior to 1877, and it was not until after 1890 that more than one demanded more than an equivalent of what was required for matriculation in a college at that time. It is said of the legal education offered within these schools that "for the first half century of legal education in this country, the courses in the law schools were for the most part loosely organized; . . . and in many cases no definitely prescribed amount of work was required for graduation."[1] It is matter of common knowledge that the law office of a practicing lawyer was the place of the preparation of many, probably most, of the lawyers of this country in the past.

It seems that the earlier physicians were college men. But "the medical schools of colonial days in America were

[1] Dexter, *History of Education in the U. S.*, p. 325.

the offices of the practicing physicians."[1] Centers of special instruction arose from 1745 to 1750.

The first profession in America for which there was required and provided a technical and standardized training, and for which a college training preceding the strictly professional education was made necessary, was the ministry. And when the offices of the lawyer and physician were the usual training places of the other two professions, the private instruction of the minister was still exceptional. It is also to be remembered that the collegiate education obtained by those students of law or of medicine who had such training was precisely that which was held as necessary for the preliminary training of those who would enter the ministry. Indeed, if it be true, as is often intimated, that the collegiate training obtainable in America was so much intended for the prospective minister that it was somewhat vitiated as a course of general academic training, it seems to follow that the lawyers and physicians who were compelled to take it, or do without any, were after all, so far as their collegiate courses were concerned, at the very best not so well prepared for their professional study as were those who went from college to the study of theology. At the very least it is scarcely fair to specify "the requirement for the church" of that day as not being "broad,"[2] when it was not less broad in its preliminary requirement than the best preparatory training to be obtained at all even by those ambitious students who insisted on having a training for the other professions, entrance to which was by no means conditioned upon their possession of such training.

Any stricture upon the higher education of earlier America, however just, cannot be fairly confined in its application to only one class of those whose best opportunity it

[1] Dexter, *History of Education in the U.S.*, p. 325.

[2] Parker, Irene, *Dissenting Academies of England, 1662–1800*, c. p. 55: "Naturally the theological course was the most important; it was wide," etc.

alone afforded; and still less, to that class which alone was actually required to have it as an essential qualification for its work.

(*c*) *As to the Achievement in Relation to Training*

To determine the relative merits of different methods of ministerial training is beyond the scope of this study, although some variation of method has been noted in the attempt to follow the history. But it seems not out of place to note a fact in this connection which has been revealed by the study. It is that, at least for a certain class of students, any one of the methods that appear to have been used in the two centuries seems to have produced satisfactory results. This class is made up of the men of rather better native endowment. On the other hand, it is probable that, for the average man, the more thorough and systematic the method, the better it was suited to him.

(*d*) *As to the Motive of the Theological Seminaries*

By the beginning of the last twenty years of the whole period the conditions which seemed to demand the theological seminary had taken clear and obvious form; as for some time previous they had been in part actually existent. They were the failure of the chairs of divinity to hold the students for the ministry; the enlarging scope of the colleges, and the increasingly miscellaneous character of the students attending them; the separation of the country from the British Government, with the consequent self-dependence of the American churches, and the adoption by the national government of the principle of entire separation of Church and State; the extension of the settlements, with the accompanying spiritual destitution and ecclesiastical disorganization; the recognized lowering of the standard of theological prep-

aration, and the prevalence of ignorance and error. These appeared to demand a more numerous, and a more thoroughly taught, ministry. To meet this demand the seminaries were established.[1]

[1] The situation is admirably summarized by Professor Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 123: "When the colonies had won their independence, and immigrants began to pour into the newly opened West, the urgent problem for all denominations was the supply of ministers for this great field. Ministers could not be had in sufficient numbers from beyond the sea, and it was a question whether it was wise to depend for work in the new world upon men brought up and trained in the old. Until 1784 there was no theological seminary in America. New Brunswick Seminary began its honorable career in New York City in that year. Harvard and Yale had long had each a professorship of theology. College chairs were in some cases practically chairs of theology. Here and there a minister, with or without appointment, would take young men under his personal care and instruction. But all this was inadequate to the supply even of the East."

That the motive was chiefly to meet this situation is confirmed by the same writer (*op. cit.*, p. 123), and by the *American Church History Series*, vol. xi, p. 176) concerning the founding of the same Seminary referred to by Professor Johnson, that is, Xenia Seminary, the second Protestant Seminary in the country: "feeling that the supply of ministers from abroad was inadequate to their wants, the Presbytery took measures," etc.; and by *The Centennial Volume of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church*, etc., pp. 52, 53, concerning the founding of New Brunswick Seminary: "The difficulties connected with the supply of ministers, and the exercise of discipline increasing, rather than diminishing, led all thinking minds and friends of religion to see that if the Church was to continue to live in this country some provision must be made for the education of young men in Theology and for their induction here."

The Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., May, 1810, record that the Assembly was influenced by the "calls of destitute frontier settlements" to attempt to establish a seminary for "securing . . . more extensive and efficient theological instruction." In 1806, the Presbytery of Hanover expressed its concern over "the deplorable state of our country in regard to religious instruction, the very small number of ministers possessing the qualifications required by the Scriptures, and the prevalence of ignorance and error," and took one of the first steps that eventually led to the establishment of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. See *The Centennial Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Professors and Alumni of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia*, pp. 6 *sq.*

Of one of the early Lutheran efforts in the direction of a seminary, Dr. Gotwald, *Early American Lutheran Theological Education, 1745–1845*, p. 8, says: "Dr. Kunze . . . on the fifteenth day of September, 1797, . . . re-

solved to at once found a theological and missionary seminary, 'as so many of the Lutheran Churches were destitute of laborers.'"

Even in the founding of Andover this had its effect as prompting the enterprise, as well as did the interest of Congregational orthodoxy. See Woods, L., *History of the Andover Theological Seminary*, pp. 17, 18.

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Recent Activities of Catholic Historians

By

Patrick Joseph Healy

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF CATHOLIC HISTORIANS

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(*Read December 30, 1918.*)

IN ordinary times a paper on *Recent Activities of Catholic Historians* could have meant nothing more than a bibliographical survey or a critical enumeration of the writings of Catholic authors on the subject of ecclesiastical history during the preceding year or even the preceding six months. Such an approach to the matter is now impossible. The last four years have been lean years in historical bibliography. Historians may not have been idle; but they have concerned themselves more with the problems of the present than with the problems of the past. The output of historical works has been meager. Our knowledge of them is more meager still. We have not only been shut off, through the exigencies of war, from a large part of the world, but we have been deprived of the guidance of historical periodicals which would make it possible to give a complete survey of the actual conditions of historical writing and investigation at the present. Many of these periodicals have gone out of existence, others have been temporarily suspended, and many more have been inaccessible because of censorship regulations, while others have changed their character to such a degree that they hardly deserve the name of historical magazines.

These conditions have forced me to deal with the subject

in a manner different from that which I first intended, and have compelled me, in order to remain within the scope of my title, to aim at giving an outline of the general lines of historical activity in which Catholics were engaged before the war, and the special problems with which they busied themselves, and thus to reveal their aims and methods rather than to attempt a critical examination of the writings of individual historians. This method of presentation, though it lies outside the ordinary, may not be without certain advantages.

The present time unquestionably brings to a decisive end a chapter in ecclesiastical historiography. For many reasons the future of historical writing will not be like the past. Many centers of historical activity can never return to their old state. Louvain, for instance, may be restored, but the new Louvain will not be the Louvain of former days. The German and Austrian schools and universities will, perhaps, flourish again, but their aims will be new and their spirit will be new. Oxford and Cambridge continue, but the new curriculum will not leave the old traditions unimpaired. Furthermore, the historian of the future will be confronted with a new set of problems, and he will be called on to make his contribution to the work of reconstruction and social adjustment. In addition, it is to be feared that the bitter racial and political animosities which have been aroused and which will not easily be allayed may invade the field of ecclesiastical historiography.

Hence what I shall have to say is a description of conditions which to a large extent no longer exist. What the future may have to offer I should not dare to conjecture. My aim will be to set forth in the time allowed to me some of the activities of Catholic historians which may be taken as a gauge of their general purposes and methods. Hence, instead of giving a list of the writings of Catholic authors, I shall call attention to three spheres of activity in which

Catholics have busied themselves, and thus deal with the subject on its broad lines rather than in detail. Those spheres are: first, periodical literature, *i. e.*, historical magazines; secondly, publications of documentary and source material, together with encyclopedias; and thirdly, historical works which may be considered to have permanent value. The problem of choice in such a large mass of material is a difficult one, and I do not pretend that my classification is final, or my enumeration complete.

In regard to Catholic historical periodicals, there are some which are general in character and some which are special. Of the general historical periodicals the best known and perhaps the most useful was the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, published under the authorship of Professor Cauchie at Louvain (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 40 Rue de Namur, vols. i–xiii, 1900–1913). The fifteenth volume was in course of publication when the *Revue* was suspended on the capture of Louvain in 1914. The unique value of this review to the student of ecclesiastical history was found in the fact that, in addition to its articles and *comptes-rendus*, it contained a chronicle of the progress of historical studies and of the doings of historians in all countries, and a complete bibliography of historical publications classified under suitable headings, together with a list of book reviews and criticisms.

Another publication somewhat similar in character was the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Paris, 1866–1914), which although its pages were devoted largely to French history, was of equal interest to the ecclesiastical historian, and usually contained very scholarly book reviews. For specialists in ecclesiastical history no review published by Catholics deserved to be more widely known than the *Revue Bénédictine* (Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium, 1884–1914). In spite of its name it was general rather than special in character, though its pages were very largely devoted to

studies in patrology and liturgy. The summary of current historical literature was always valuable. The *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (Herder, Freiburg, Germany, since 1871), edited by the Jesuits, though it contains much of general theological interest, is principally historical in purpose and content. A useful guide to historical literature is the *Litterarische Rundschau für das Katholische Deutschland* (Herder, Freiburg, since 1875), edited by Professor Sauer of the University of Freiburg. The *Historisches Jahrbuch*, published by the Görres-Gesellschaft (Münster, since 1880), a periodical of more than ordinary merit, is marked by sound scholarship and critical accuracy. The *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck, since 1877), the *Revue du Clergé Français* (Paris, since 1895), the *Rivista Storico-Critica delle Scienze Theologiche* (Rome, since 1905), the *Irish Theological Quarterly* (Dublin, since 1906), and the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, published by the Catholic faculty of the University of Tübingen, are principally devoted to history or to theology on its historical side.

Under the heading "reviews of a special character" there may be enumerated those which deal with the history of particular sections of the Christian world, with special departments of ecclesiastical life, or with special institutions. Among these there is the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (Paris, since 1901), devoted to the literature and history of the Oriental churches. It stands in the same relation to the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium* that the *Neues Archiv* does to the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. The *Bessarione* (Rome, since 1897) owed its foundation to the interest of Leo XIII in Oriental studies and the Oriental churches. The *Échos d'Orient* (Paris, since 1897) is similar in many regards to the *Oriens Christianus*, which was taken over by the Görres-Gesellschaft in 1911 (Leipzig, New Series, 1911).

For the countries of western Christendom there are many publications of a national character such as the *Historisch-*

politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland, published by the Görres-Gesellschaft (Munich, since 1838). *La Scuola Cattolica* (Milan, Fifth Series, 1911) deals mainly with Italian history. Holland has its *Nederlandsche Katholieke Stemmen* (Zwolle, since 1900) and *De Katholiek* (Utrecht, since 1836). In Spain *La Ciudad de Dios*, published by the Augustinians (Madrid, since 1880), and *Razon y Fe*, published by the Jesuit Fathers (Madrid, since 1901), though general in character and content, are valuable as guides to Spanish historical literature. The *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France, organe de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de France* (Paris, since 1910) is a publication varied in contents and excellent in its summaries of historical activity. To replace the *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, the publication of which ceased in 1905, the Swiss Catholic Association founded the *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg, Switzerland, since 1906) to deal with the ecclesiastical history of Switzerland. The *Archivum Hibernicum*, or *Irish Historical Record* (Dublin, since 1912), founded by the Catholic Record Society to publish unedited documents on national history, especially the religious history of Ireland, and to provide better editions of badly edited texts, has already more than justified the purposes of its promoters. In Poland, the monthly review *Ateneum Kaplanskie** (Warsaw, since 1907) is published by the professors of the Catholic Seminary of Wloslawek. In Roumania, the theological professors at the Seminary of Blaj have published since 1911 *Cultura Crestina*,* a review of Catholic theology and history. In 1912 Mgr. Raymond Netzhammer, Archbishop of Bucharest, founded the *Revista Catolica** (Bucharest, since 1912), which before the fateful summer of 1914 had been widely commended for the range and character of the articles it contained. Another review which received favorable comment was *S. Olaf*,* a Norwegian publication intended to deal with

* Reviews marked with an asterisk I have not seen.

the ecclesiastical history of that country. A publication of interest only to specialists is *El-Machrig** ["The Orient"] (Beirut, since 1898), published by the Fathers at the Jesuit College in Beirut.

In our own country we have the *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington, D. C., since 1915), published at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., which aims primarily at dealing with the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, and above all to serve as a means whereby valuable historical material may be preserved and published.

Besides these publications of a national character there are others which deal exclusively with the history of more restricted areas, such as provinces or dioceses. Though the number of such reviews is very large, they can never have much interest for students in general. It may not be amiss, however, to mention *Acta et Dicta* (St. Paul, Minn., since 1907), published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, "to collect the historical data regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the Northwest." Two newcomers in this field are the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Chicago, 1918), founded by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society to cover Catholic history in Illinois, and the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* (St. Louis, 1918), which has for its field Catholic history in the diocese of St. Louis.

Publications devoted to special departments of ecclesiastical history or to particular ecclesiastical institutions are, among others, the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, since 1894), which aims at carrying on the work of the old *Bullettino*, with which the name of De Rossi was so long connected; and the *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* (Rome and Freiburg, since 1886), which is edited by the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft. Christian art had its magazine in the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* (Düsseldorf,

since 1888), and the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris-Lille, since 1875). The newly aroused interest in ecclesiastical music led to the foundation of the *Revue du Chant Grégorien* (Grenoble, since 1892), the *Revue Grégorienne* (Tournai, since 1911), and the magnificent *Paléographie Musicale* (Tournai, since 1889), published by the Benedictines of Solesmes.

The character and purpose of the *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, since 1882) are found in the title of the publication itself. It was a review maintained by the Society of Bollandists whose headquarters were at the Collège St. Michel in Brussels, and devoted exclusively to the subject of Christian hagiography. The unique character of the Society of Bollandists and their extraordinarily rich library made this review an invaluable guide to hagiographical writings and all cognate subjects. Church law and organization formed the principal topic in the pages of the *Revue Catholique des Institutions et du Droit* (Paris, Second Series, since 1890) and in the *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht* (Mainz, since 1857). The *Bulletin d'ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie* (Paris, since 1910) and the *Didaskaleion: Studi Filologici di Letteratura Cristiana antica* (Turin, since 1912) were similar in scope and content. *Studi Romani: Rivista di Archeologiae Storia*, founded in Rome in 1913, was designed to be the organ of those especially interested in the archæology and history of Rome.

Monasticism as represented in the various religious orders had its affairs well presented in the field of magazine literature. The Franciscans publish at Florence the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (since 1908), an international review in which contributions are received in four languages and which deal with the order at large. This is supplemented by the *Études Franciscaines* (Paris, since 1893). The Benedictines carry on in addition to the *Revue Bénédictine* and many other publications the *Rivista Storica Benedittina* (Rome, 1906), the *Studien und Mittheilungen zur*

Geschichte des Benedictinerordens und seiner Zweige (Salzburg, since 1890). The Premonstratensians published at Louvain the *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Brussels, since 1906).

A mere enumeration of the titles of these reviews gives no idea of their contents and only a very slight indication of their character. Time, however, does not permit any discussion of the articles they contain nor of their critical value or standing.

Coming now to publications of source-materials and collections of texts and documents, we may venture to say that among those the most important and the most extensive is that known as the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. In this collection there is included a series of publications issued by the Gabalda Firm in Paris under the auspices of the Catholic University in Washington and the University of Louvain. When completed it will number about eight hundred volumes and will include practically all the Christian writings now extant in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian. Up to the year 1912 the publication of these documents was carried on as a private undertaking by Drs. Chabot, Hyvernat, and Guidi. Knowing that they could not complete the project themselves, and fearing that it might lapse after their death, they appealed to the Universities at Washington and Louvain to assume the responsibility of carrying the work to a successful finish. The Universities under this plan were to assume the same responsibility for the publication of these volumes as the Academies of Vienna and Berlin had undertaken for their editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers respectively. No change was made in the editorial staff; but it is now assisted by two committees, one in Washington and one in Louvain. About eighty volumes have been published already, and many others are in course of preparation. The plan which has been followed in those publications is to issue

two volumes for each work, one containing the text, the other a translation into Latin. Another undertaking of a like nature is the *Patrologia Orientalis* edited by Nau and Grafin, which also contains texts and translations of the writings of the Oriental Fathers. The translations in this latter case may be into a modern language, French, Italian, German, or English. Father Beccari, S. J., was more fortunate than his co-laborers in being able to bring his publication of Ethiopic texts to completion in his *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti, a Sæculo XVI ad XIX* (Paris, fifteen vols., with index).

Few departments of ecclesiastical history have received more attention than that of liturgy. Nevertheless, the crying need which had been so long felt for critical editions of liturgical texts led some Benedictine scholars to undertake the publication of the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Liturgica*. Tomes I, V, and VI, entitled, respectively, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ Vetustissimæ*, *Liber Ordinum de l'église Mozarabe*, and *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, have already been published, and if they are an earnest of the volumes to come, it is sincerely to be hoped that the publication of the remaining texts, especially those of the Western Church, will not long be delayed. Since 1896 the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have been engaged in writing the history of the Society from its foundation. The work was divided among different members of the order and is being prepared according to countries. Considerable progress has been made both with the history and with the publication of texts and sources. Its character may be judged by the volumes which Father Hughes, S. J., has brought out on the history of the Society of Jesus in North America. Without aiming at a complete enumeration of the collections of texts and documents published in recent years, we may mention the fine volumes of Papal Registers brought out by the French school in Rome, and Finke's publications of mediæval documents. Chevalier

supplemented his researches in mediæval bibliography with the *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, which was issued as a supplement to the *Analecta Bollandiana*, while the Bollandists themselves in addition to a new volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* brought out their list of *Hagiographica Græca et Latina*. The Mechitarist monks at San Lazaro in Venice continued their valuable series of Armenian texts, while fresh additions were being made to the *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinorum* and to the *Analecta Franciscana*. In France, Hemmer and Lejay had under way the publication of a series of texts of the early Fathers of which about ten volumes had appeared. The *Studi e Testi* issued from the Vatican press has run into more than twenty numbers.

Encyclopedias are always a sure index of the tastes and the needs of any epoch. The quality of Catholic scholarship is very well revealed by many of the encyclopedias of recent date, among which may be named the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, edited, and to no small degree, written by Dom Fernand Cabrol of the Benedictine Abbey of Farnborough. This elaborate undertaking, containing a series of archæological and liturgical studies of the most detailed character, had run into more than thirty *fascicules* when the work was interrupted. The *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, commenced under the editorship of Vacant and continued by Mangenot, though aiming primarily at the exposition of Catholic doctrine, was mainly historical in character. The *Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique*, published under the editorship of Adhemar d'Alès, is also mainly historical. The *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, published by Baudrillart and Vogt, was intended to supply a need in the field of history but more especially in that of historical geography that had long been felt by all historians of the Church. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, published in New York, though gen-

eral in scope and character, has long since commended itself to historians and investigators.

Coming now to the third head of our classification, that of works on general church history and works of permanent merit from Catholic pens, very little need be said. Few manuals or text-books of special merit have appeared in recent years. The work of Marx, though it possesses much merit, will hardly supersede the older manuals in German by Kraus and Funk and Knöpfler. In Spain the work by Rivaz, and in France that of Marion, still seem to be most widely used. In France the publication of the *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, a series of monographs by different authors, of which about twenty have appeared, was a step towards a thoroughly reliable general history. Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* is a work of much merit, though perhaps too extensive for class-room purposes. The work by the Jesuit Father Albers, *Handboek der Algemeene Kerkgeschiedenis*, which has been translated into Latin and other languages, is a useful outline for class use. McCaffrey in addition to his *History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century* has also written a very readable work, *The Church from the Renaissance to the Reformation*. Duchesne's *History of the Early Church* is a work for scholars rather than for beginners.

The lack of any striking advance in the writing of works on general history was counterbalanced by a series of excellent special studies and treatises on particular topics, such as the *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, published at Münster; the *Quellen und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, published at Paderborn; and the *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, published at Munich. Pastor undertook the editorship of a series of monographs to complete the *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* by Janssen (*Erlaüterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*). Wilpert had in preparation his work on

Christian Mosaics, to take its place along with his *Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*. To these may be added the *Mémoires et Travaux*, published by the professors of the Catholic faculty at Lille.

Many special treatises appeared in recent years which have the peculiar merit of embodying the definite conclusions of years of labor and research and of affording a sure starting-point for further investigation, such as Leclercq's *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu' au VIII^me^ siècle*, Batiffol's *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, and Kellner's *Heortologie oder die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres und der Heiligenfeste*. Such works as these are not of course beyond criticism, but they mark a definite advance, inasmuch as they summarize so thoroughly the conclusions which were generally accepted when they were written.

Père Delehaye's book on the *Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* clears up much that was obscure in this difficult field of investigation and is an excellent companion volume to the series of *Lives of the Saints* which is in course of publication by the Lecoffre firm in Paris. Adrian Fortescue's *The Mass*, a study of the Roman Liturgy, is also an excellent summary of the conclusions of generations of scholars. Braun's sumptuous volume, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, is the most satisfactory presentation of the subject yet available and is remarkable as much for the reserve of the author as for its wealth of material. The whole story of asceticism in the Catholic Church is best approached through the study of monasticism and the religious orders. Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Congregationen der Katholischen Kirche* is an indispensable guide through the maze of material which the subject has to offer. Bardenhewer's *Patrologie* and his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* may also be taken as marking a definite advance in the study of the writings of the Fathers.

These names and this list of books have been chosen

somewhat at haphazard and are not presented as being either complete or conclusive. A different list might have been selected; but my purpose will have been served if I can call attention, not to the range, but to the quality of scholarship among Catholic historians. It has of course been impossible within the time allotted to me to do more than to mention some names and some writings, but these may be taken as typical of the methods and purposes of the great mass of Catholic authors at the present. I should like to have called attention to the works of such men as Gasquet, Connolly, and Butler in England, Wilpert, Benigni, and Marucchi in Italy, Cauchie and his colleagues in Belgium, Batiffol, Baudrillart, Goyau, Vacandard, and Duchesne in France, Schrörs, Pastor, Finke, Ehrhard, Künstle, Pfeilschifter, and others elsewhere; but the writings of these men are known to everybody here and they have already been rated according to their critical merits.

LIST OF MEMBERS

An asterisk before a name indicates a sustaining member; a double asterisk, a life member.

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NEELY, THOMAS BENJAMIN, Methodist, Rev.; bishop, Philadelphia; S.T.D. (Simpson College; 1884); Ph.D. (Chattanooga University, 1886); LL.D. (Mount Union College, 1890).

NEVE, JUERGEN LUDWIG, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History of Doctrines and Symbolics in the Hamma Divinity School of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio; D.D. (Wittenberg College, 1902; Carthage College.)

NEWMAN, ALBERT HENRY, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; LL.D. (Southwestern Baptist University, 1883; McMaster University, Toronto, 1914); D.D. (Mercer University, 1885).

NICHOLS, ROBERT HASTINGS, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Yale University, 1896).

NORLIE, OLAF MORGAN, Lutheran, Rev.; book editor, Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ph.D. (University of Minnesota, 1908); Pd.D. (Dixon College, 1910); S.T.D. (Augustana Seminary, 1917); Litt.D. (Wittenberg College, 1917).

NORTH, ERIC MCCOY, Methodist, layman; associate editor, Sunday-School Publications, Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio; M.A. (Wesleyan University, 1910; Columbia University, 1910); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1914).

O'CONNELL, DENNIS JOSEPH, Catholic, Rt. Rev.; bishop of Richmond; Richmond, Virginia; S.T.D. (Propaganda College of Rome, 1877).

PANNKOKE, OTTO HERMANN, Lutheran, Rev.; Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Bureau of the National Lutheran Council, New York; B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1915); D.D. (Lenoir College, 1920).

POMEROY, RALPH BROUWER, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical Polity in the General Theological Seminary, New York; B.D. (General Theological Seminary, 1903); M.A. (Princeton University, 1913; Columbia University, 1913).

PORTER, THOMAS JACKSON, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Campinas, Est. de San Paolo, Brazil; Ph.D. (Westminster College Pa., 1897); S.T.D. (Miami University, 1917).

PRATT, DAVIE BUTLER, Congregationalist, Rev.; dean and professor of Sociology and Church History in Howard University School of Religion, Washington, D.C.; D.D. (Howard University, 1914).

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REED, RICHARD CLARK, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina; D.D. (King College, 1890); LL.D. (King College, 1906).

RHINELANDER, PHILIP MERCER, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pa.; A.M. (University of Oxford, England, 1900); D.D. (Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., 1911; Columbia University, 1912); D.C.L. (Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, 1912); LL.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1912).

RICHARDS, GEORGE WARREN, Reformed, Rev.; president and professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1902).

RICHARDSON, ERNEST CUSHING, Director of the Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.; A.M. (Amherst College, 1883; Princeton University, 1896); diploma of Hartford Theological Seminary (1883); Ph.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, 1887).

ROBINSON, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Congregationalist; secretary of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

* ROCKWELL, WILLIAM WALKER, Congregationalist, Rev.; associate professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; S.T.L. (Marburg, 1903); Ph.D. (Göttingen, 1914).

ROLLINS, WALLACE EUGENE, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria, Va.; B.D. (Yale University, 1895); D.D. (Virginia Theological Seminary, 1915).

ROWE, HENRY KALLOCH, Baptist; associate professor of Church History and Sociology, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass.; Ph.D. (Boston University, 1905).

RUSTON, WILLIAM OTIS, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Sacred Languages and Literature, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa; D.D. (Lenox College, 1886); LL.D. (Lenox College, 1907).

SADLER, ALFRED JOHN, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Jersey City, N. J.; B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1917).

SCHAFF, DAVID SCHLEY, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Illinois College, 1891; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909).

SCHENK, PHILIP LOUIS, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor, Plymouth Church, Framingham, Mass.; A.M. (University of Michigan, 1904); B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1907).

SCHERER, MELANCHTHON GIDEON GROSECLOSE, Lutheran, Rev.; secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America, 437 Fifth Ave., New York; D.D. (Roanoke College, 1903).

SCHWARZE, WILLIAM NATHANIEL, Moravian, Rev.; professor of Moravian Church History and Homiletics in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa., archivist of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, president of the Moravian Historical Society; Ph.D. (Moravian College and Theological Seminary, 1910).

SCOTT, ERNEST FINDLAY, professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York.; D.D. (St. Andrews University, Scotland, 1909).

SCRATCHLEY, HENRY PETER, Episcopalian, Rev.; Poultney, Vermont.

** SEVERANCE, ALLEN DUDLEY, Presbyterian; professor of History, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

SHAHAN, THOMAS JOSEPH, Catholic, Rt. Rev.; rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; D.D. (Propaganda College, Rome, 1882); J.U.L. (Roman Seminary, Rome, 1889).

SHAW, JOHN MACKINTOSH, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the Presbyterian College Halifax, Nova Scotia; M.A. (University of Edinburgh, 1899).

SHAW, PLATO ERNEST; Methodist, Rev.; professor of the History of Christian Thought and Progress, Wesley College, University, North Dakota; B. D. (Yale University, 1918;) S. T. M. (Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1920).

SHELDON, HENRY CLAY, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in Boston University, Boston, Mass.; D.D. (Lawrence University, 1887).

SHEWMAKER, WILLIAM ORPHEUS, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of Presbyterian Church, Albion, Ill.; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1914).

SIMPSON, SAMUEL, Congregationalist, Rev.; Tolland, Conn.; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1902).

SMITH, C. HENRY, Mennonite, layman; professor of History, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1907).

SMITH, PRESERVED, 20 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1907).

SNOWDEN, LOUISE HORTENSE, Episcopalian; instructor in Mediæval History at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

SOCKMAN, RALPH WASHINGTON, Methodist, Rev.; pastor Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City; M.A. (Columbia University, 1913); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1917).

SPINKA, MATTHEW, Reformed, Rev.; professor of Church History, Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.; B.D. (Chicago Theological Seminary, 1916); M.A. (Divinity School of the University of Chicago, 1919).

STAUFFER, VERNON, Disciple, Rev.; dean of Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio.

STEARNS, WALLACE NELSON, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Biblical Literature, Fargo College, Fargo, N. D.; B.D. (Harvard University, 1896); Ph.D. (Boston University, 1899).

STEIMLE, AUGUSTUS, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of the Church of the Advent, New York; D.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1914).

Stout, James Coffin, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Bible Teachers Training School, New York City; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1910).

Stringfellow, Ervin Edward, Disciple of Christ, Rev.; associate professor of Church History, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia.; A.M. (Drake University, 1911).

Stuart, Charles Macaulay, Methodist, Rev.; president of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.; D.D. (Garrett Biblical Institute, 1885; Wesleyan University, 1906); Litt. D. (Syracuse University, 1904; Ohio Wesleyan University, 1909).

Sullivan, William Laurence, Unitarian, Rev.; minister, All Souls' Church, New York City; S.T.L. (Catholic University of America, 1900).

Sweet, William Warren, Methodist, Rev.; professor of History, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1906); Th.M. (Crozer Theological Seminary, 1907); A.M. (University of Pennsylvania, 1909); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1912).

Swing, Albert Temple, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor emeritus of Church History, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; D.D. (Oberlin College, 1901).

Tidball, Thomas Allen, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor emeritus of Ecclesiastical History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; D.D. (William and Mary College, 1878).

Tipple, Ezra Squier, Methodist, Rev.; president and professor of Practical Theology, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; A.M. (Syracuse University, 1885); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1886); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1899); LL.D. (*ibid.*, 1913).

Tryon, Harold Harrison, Presbyterian; assistant professor of Biblical Philology and Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1904).

Tucker, Robert Leonard, Methodist, Rev.; pastor of Summerfield Methodist Episcopal Church, New Haven, Conn.; instructor in New Haven Deaconess Training School; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1918).

Union Theological Seminary Library, 3041 Broadway, New York.

Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.

Vedder, Henry Clay, Baptist; professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1897).

Walker, Curtis Howe, Congregationalist, layman; lecturer in European History, the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas; Ph.D. (Yale University, 1905).

*Walker, Williston, Congregationalist; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1894; Amherst College, 1895; Yale University, 1901; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909; Harvard University, 1912).

Washburn, Henry Bradford, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

Weber, Henry Jacob, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Theology and Church History, Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1894); D.D. (German Theological School of Newark, N. J., 1909).

Weiskotten, Herbert T., Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of St. John's Church, Summit, N. J.; Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1918).

Wendel, Hugo Christian Martin, Lutheran, layman; instructor in Mediæval and Modern History, and Schaff Memorial Lecturer in Church History, New York University, New York; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1918).

Wenner, George Unangst, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of Christ Church, Manhattan, New York; D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, 1888); L.H.D. (Susquehanna University, 1917).

Wentz, Abdel Ross, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History and Biblical Literature, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; A.M. (Pennsylvania College, 1907); Ph.D. (George Washington University, 1914).

Weswig, Carl Marcus, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Historical Theology, Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.; B.D. (Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1898).

WILBUR, EARL MORSE, Unitarian, Rev.; president and professor of Practical Theology, Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, Berkeley, Calif.; A. M. (Harvard University, 1890); D.D.(University of Vermont, 1910).

WILSON, JOHN A., United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Monmouth College, 1887; Wooster University, 1887; Amity College, 1887); LL.D. (Wabash College, 1903).

WORCESTER, EDWARD STRONG, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor of the First Congregational Church, Madison, Wis.; B.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1901).

WRIGHT, HENRY BURT, professor of Christian Methods, School of Religion, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Ph.D. (Yale, 1903).

Members are requested to communicate to the Secretary any corrections or additions to the data contained in this list.

DECEASED MEMBERS

Allen, Alexander Viets Griswold, died in Cambridge, Mass., Wednesday, July 1, 1908.

Bacon, Leonard Woolsey, died at Assonet, Mass., Sunday, May 12, 1907.

Buckley, James Munroe, died at Morristown, N. J., Sunday, February 8, 1920.

Case, Clifford Philip, died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Sunday, March 7, 1920.

Coe, Edward Benton, died in New York City, Thursday, March 19, 1914.

Corwin, Edward Tanjore, died at North Branch, N. J., Monday, June 22, 1914.

Dryer, George Herbert, died at Phoenix, Arizona, November 9, 1917.

Drury, John Benjamin, died in New Brunswick, N. J., Sunday, March 21, 1909.

Dwight, Henry Otis, died at Roselle, N. J., Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

Elwell, John Lewis, died in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, March 16, 1910.

Ferguson, Henry, died at Hartford, Conn., Friday, March 30, 1917.

Hulbert, Eri Baker, died in Chicago, Ill., Sunday, February 17, 1907.

Jackson, George Anson, died at Swampscott, Mass., Wednesday, May 8, 1907.

Jackson, Samuel Macauley, died at Washington, Conn., Friday, August 2, 1912.

Kolyn, Matthew, died at Muskegon, Mich., on May 3, 1918.

Krotel, Gottlob Frederick, died in New York City, Friday, May 17, 1907.

Lea, Henry Charles, died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, October 24, 1909.

Lewis, Abram Herbert, died at Westerly, R. I., Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

Nicum, John, died in Rochester, N. Y., Monday, November 1, 1909.

Norcross, George, died at Carlisle, Pa., Monday, March 8, 1915.

Rauschenbush, Walter, died at Rochester, N. Y., on July 25, 1918.

Riggs, James Forsyth, died at Orange, N. J., on January 24, 1918.

Rogers, James William, died at Walton, Ky., 1910.

Schoenfeld, William F., died on Wednesday, July 30, 1919.

Scott, Hugh McDonald, died in Chicago, Ill., Thursday, April 29, 1909.

Show, Arley Barthlow, died Wednesday, October 27, 1920.

Smith, Heman C., died at Independence, Mo., Thursday, April 17, 1919.

Spaeth, (Philip Friedrich) Adolph (Theodor), died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, June 26, 1910.

Spieker, George Frederick, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, September 7, 1913.

Stephens, Henry Morse, died at San Francisco, Cal., April 16, 1919.

Thomas, Allen Clapp, died at Haverford, Pa., on Wednesday, December 15, 1920.

Tiffany, Charles Comfort, died at Northeast Harbor, Me., Tuesday, August 20, 1907.

Van Kirk, Hiram, died at Noroton, Conn., on Friday, August 13, 1920.

Whitaker, William Force, died at Elizabeth, N. J., Sunday, July 9, 1916.

Statistics of Membership

	Living	Deceased
1908 (Vol. I.)	61	4
1910 (Vol. II.)	60	14
1912 (Vol. III.)	90	15
1914 (Vol. IV.)	117[1]	18
1916 — —	144[2]	20
1917 (Vol. V.)	159[2]	22
1921 (Vol. VI.)	204[3]	34

[1] Including three Libraries.
[2] Including five Libraries.
[3] Including eleven Libraries.

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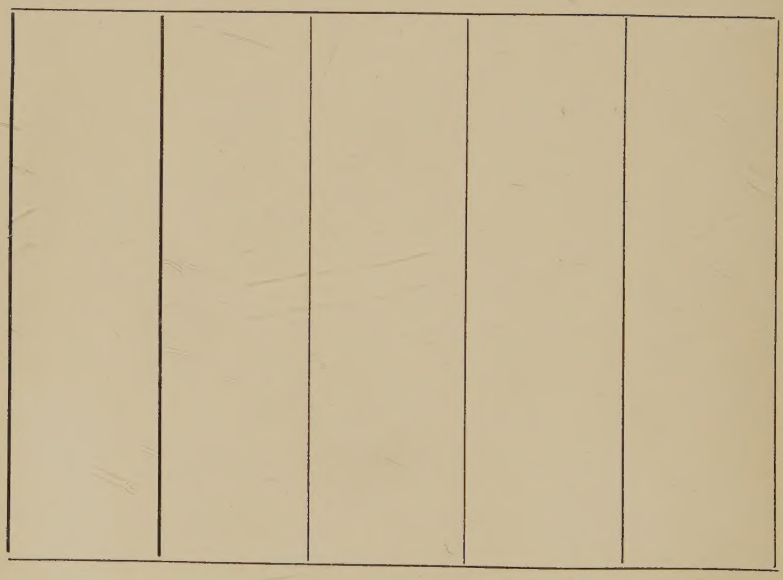

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